

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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# L' Abbé Gustave Morel





To His Grace

The Duke of Argyll.

with the respects of the Translator

Edmund J. I. Dredge.

Dec. 9<sup>th</sup> 1916











L'ABBÉ GUSTAVE MOREL









GUSTAVE MOREL

( 1872 - 1905 )

Héliog Dujardin

# L'ABBÉ GUSTAVE MOREL

PROFESSOR AT L'INSTITUT CATHOLIQUE  
PARIS

BY  
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TRANSLATED BY  
EDMUND J. I. DREDGE, B.A. (CANTAB)  
ASSISTANT PRIEST AT CHRIST CHURCH, SOUTH HACKNEY,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY W. J. BIRKBECK  
AND A PORTRAIT

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED  
TO  
MONSIEUR F. PORTAL  
IN REMEMBRANCE OF TWO HAPPY YEARS  
SPENT UNDER HIS ROOF WITH  
L'ABBÉ GUSTAVE MOREL

J. C.

THE TRANSLATOR DEDICATES HIS LITTLE LABOUR  
TO  
THE GLORY OF THE EVER-BLESSED TRINITY  
IN EARNEST LONGING FOR  
THE UNDIVIDED CHURCH OF THE YEARS TO COME  
E. J. I. D.



## INTRODUCTION.

MY acquaintance with the Abbé Morel commenced in the year 1902, during his visit to England, which he undertook with the object of studying the conditions of English religious life, more especially those of the Anglican Church, in which, as will be seen in the following pages, he took an intelligent and sympathetic interest. It was towards the end of his stay in this country that he came down here to Norfolk and spent a week with me. I had arranged through some Roman Catholic friends in this neighbourhood, that he should have the use of an altar of his own obedience attached to a private house in a country town four miles from here, and thither he went on his bicycle every morning during his visit, to say his Mass, arriving back here in time for breakfast. I had not made his acquaintance before he arrived here, and I had been told beforehand that I might find him somewhat reserved. But this was not at all my experience. Perhaps it was that he was engaged in a work similar to that in which I have spent a considerable part of my life, namely, travelling amongst foreign Churches in order to study them from their point of view, as well as from one's own, or perhaps it was that our ultimate object was the same, namely, to see what we each

could do in our respective ways towards narrowing those deplorable dividing lines which at present keep the separated branches of the Christian family apart from one another. In any case, before we had been together for twenty-four hours we found ourselves talking as if we had known each other all our lives. So far as I was concerned, there was nothing to conceal from him. If he was anxious to find out as much as possible about the various schools of thought which exist in the Church of England, it was not in order to make either fun or capital out of "our unhappy divisions," but in order really to understand them, and to estimate how far they were likely in the end to stand in the way of that Reunion for which it was his object in life to work. While he had his criticisms to make—and these, as may be seen gently hinted at in the following pages, were by no means confined to those schools of thought in the English Church which were furthest removed from his own point of view—nothing fell from his lips that any Anglican could possibly have resented; and indeed I have always counted him amongst those foreigners, whether Eastern or Western, with whom it has been my privilege to be acquainted, whose conversation has helped me more clearly to estimate the problems which confront the future of our own position in the Catholic movement in this country. The differences which divide the schools of thought in the Anglican Church did not always assume the same proportions in his eyes that they did in mine: some points we have gained in the Catholic revival seemed to him less, and some

more important than they did to me. Whether one agreed with him or not, everything he had to say was worth hearing. We spent a great deal of our time together looking at our splendid Norfolk churches both in Norwich and in the country districts ; and it was gratifying and instructive to hear what he had to say about them, more especially when he contrasted them with the churches in France, and traced out the differences in the development of ecclesiastical architecture in the two countries, and assigned them, one by one, to the different historical circumstances, ecclesiastical and secular, under which those developments took place. When I had once drawn his attention to certain features by which you may distinguish a fifteenth-century Norfolk church, whether large or small, which was built for a crowded from one which was built for a scanty population, he immediately grasped the point, and enjoyed pursuing the subject, detail by detail, still farther than I had done. Both in architecture and in other externals he had a great belief in the expression of national characteristics and their value. I remember that when we were in the nave of the magnificent church which the Duke of Norfolk was then building in Norwich, he said : " But why did not *les nôtres* build a copy of St. Peter Mancroft, and show the people of Norwich what their finest parish Church was really intended for ? "

A good deal of our time together was employed in discussing the Eastern Church, and more especially the ecclesiastical affairs of the Russian Empire. His three journeys in Russia are fully described in the

following pages. While there can be no doubt that it is very much easier for an Anglican to enter into the spirit of the Orthodox Church, and to study its problems from an Orthodox point of view, than it is for anyone of the Latin obedience, who, from the very logic of his position, must to some degree look upon the Eastern Church in the light of revolted subjects of the Papacy ; still I think that the Abbé Morel came nearer to succeeding in this than had any previous writer on the subject, belonging to his Communion. I had warned him that, while it would be easy to find individuals in Russia who would be ready enough, at least in theory, to see their Church united with Rome, or indeed with any other form of Western Christianity, this was not the way to penetrate to the root of the matter : and I had especially commended to him the works of the great Slavophile theologian and philosopher, A. S. Khomiakoff, as giving the best insight into the fundamental principles of Orthodoxy, and showing in what they differ from those of the religions of the West, be they Latin or Protestant. The results of this recommendation of mine are to be found narrated at great length in the following pages. I am not surprised that he thought that he had discovered inconsistencies between the definition of the Church given in Philaret's *Catechism* and in Khomiakoff's *Essay upon the Unity of the Church*. He saw of course that in one case the Church spoken of is the "Church Militant here on earth," and in the other case, the Church as consisting of "those who are alive upon earth, those who have finished their earthly

course, those who, like the angels, were not created for a life upon earth, those in future generations who have not yet begun their earthly course, [all of which are] united together in one Church". But it is extremely difficult for a Western, and more especially for a Latin, to realize how far more prominent to an Eastern is the latter conception of the Church, more especially where questions of its unity are concerned ; that, in fact, to them the unity of the Church does not rest upon any hierarchical considerations (which they relegate rather to the department of Canon Law than to any dogmatic principle), but upon the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. This is the reason that the institutions known as Uniate Churches have so completely failed in affecting the main body of Orthodox Easterns, and as a matter of fact have not been able to make any way at all except in places where they have been artificially assisted by the secular power for political ends. Perhaps these hints will throw some light upon the tone of disappointment which undeniably is to be found in some places in the Abbé Morel's reflections upon what he came across in Russia, which indeed he expressed to me after his two first visits to that country. I then reminded him of the Russian proverb, which I had quoted to him before his first journey there : *Chém daljshe v'liesù, tjém bóljshe droff* : which, being interpreted, means : "The further you go into a forest, the thicker the timber becomes". After all, Russia is not an easy country to understand, and the Abbé recognized this fact. His mind was not constituted



like that of a priest, whom I met in my Oxford undergraduate days, who had spent some years in Iceland trying without success to make converts, and when I asked him the reason of his failure, replied : “ Parce que les Islandais sont si *bêtes* ! ”

The last time that I ever saw the Abbé was in Paris in the early spring of 1905, when he was preparing for his journey to the White Sea. I had made the same journey six years previously. Would that he had followed my advice to take a mattress and bed clothes with him, which I, as well as most Russians, look upon as an indispensable part of one's luggage on a journey over the rough post roads and amidst the primitive accommodation provided in out of the way portions of the vast Russian Empire ! Besides securing a comfortable night's rest, the mattress is invaluable to rest upon and saves one from infinite fatigue in the jolting tarantass journeys. I suppose that the fact that the railway from Archangel to Vologda had just been opened, and that therefore he had not the 350 miles of posting, which I had undergone on my way to Moscow, to look forward to, caused him to neglect my advice on that point. I received a post card from him from Archangel, telling me something of his experiences at Solovetzki : the next that I heard of him was from our mutual friend, Mr. D. A. Khomiakoff, telling me the sad news from Borgucharovo.

The following pages will enable English readers to appreciate what a loss not only his friends but the cause of Unity has sustained in him.

We can only thank GOD for what he was allowed to do for His Church during his short sojourn here on earth, and pray that he may abundantly be rewarded for his labours, and that his works may follow him.

W. J. BIRKBECK.

STRATTON STRAWLESS,

30 *January*, 1913.



## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

A CRITICAL reading public, and one which in our days is positively inundated with books upon almost every topic under the sun, unquestionably will not fail to subject this little labour of love to the usual crossfires of criticism.

As translator I wish first and foremost to associate myself entirely in so far as from the nature of the case I am able, with all that the Abbé J. Calvet has said in his preface to the original French edition. I have felt bound to reproduce this preface in the translation, as well for what it contains as in order that the volume shall be as complete as possible, in its English form. To this I am anxious to add, that I have purposely omitted nothing whatsoever from the Abbé Calvet's book, not even when one has perhaps been inclined to question, or at least to experience some hesitation, with regard to the publication of certain matters with which the reader will meet, in the perusal of the biography of the Abbé Gustave Morel. I wish it clearly to be understood by all who may read this little volume, that beyond the confines of this preface, and except for the fact of my being the means of putting the book before the notice of English readers, I acknowledge no responsibility whatsoever. Further

than this, the absence of comment upon certain things which are contained in the book has no significance whatsoever, and therefore on that account nothing must be inferred.

With regard to the style and composition of the translation, I hope the reader will bear in mind, at least two very important things which a translator has to remember. Since he is translating and not composing a book, he must take the greatest care to preserve the individuality as well as the nationality of all characters which find their place in the original work ; and he must preserve faithfully the meaning of what the author has written, using, where it is practicable, the same words and phrases, in their parallel meaning in the new language as were employed by him, without reading anything into his words, even though occasions may arise when it could be wished that things had been put differently. The Author and the subject of this biography are French ; therefore the ideas and *mentalité* are French. We should not care to see Morel anglicized, we want to view him as he was. It is because there are so many difficulties to be overcome in a task of this nature that results in translations are so unsatisfactory and in most cases very disappointing. How often do we see truth sacrificed to literary style and effect, in many translations, especially in the case of poems, to which those who know the original are hard put to see any resemblance. For an illustration of this we have only to read some of the fantastic English renderings of the " Lorelei ".

I have not aimed at literary style therefore, as will



be seen, but, while gratefully accepting the assistance of better brains than my own, I have striven to the best of my ability to bring out the true meaning of the original. I only hope and trust that everybody who reads these pages will find the same inspiration within them that I have found. That inspiration will not fail to encourage many of my brethren in the ministry, and especially those of the younger generation, who want encouragement in the face of the great difficulties of work in modern times; and those, who look forward to the work of the ministry, as well as those who are content to labour for GOD as devoted laymen in the exercise of the privilege of the *priesthood of the laity*, will find considerable spiritual help and comfort in the Abbé Morel's meditations and close colloquies with GOD.

Again this little biography must be of real interest to those who have read *A Roman Diary*, by Mr. Lacey, and *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*, by Lord Halifax. It will serve to show how sincere and truly Christian were the lives of those devoted, loyal, and friendly priests in the Roman obedience who made so honest an attempt to reach a *modus vivendi* and "Peace with honour" between the great and venerable See of Rome and the *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

I am not engaged in grinding the axe of any particular society or party, but merely making a straightforward and honest attempt to cause my fellow brethren, clerical and lay in the Church of England, as well as those outside her immediate sphere, to realize the very great part that that Communion may have to

play in the work of restoring the broken unity of Christendom. We are frequently told in public utterances and in print that "Reunion is in the air". There is no question as to the truth of that assertion, but what sort of "Reunion" do the vast majority understand by that expression? *That* is the all-important question; what each one of us has to do is, first of all, to feel a profound dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs, as it exists to-day in Christendom, and then to endeavour to make our fellow Christians feel the same. We must lay aside our prejudices, suspicions, *and our controversies*, and try to understand each other, constantly and earnestly praying for a unity, which shall be outward as well as inward, seen as well as felt, and taking care to do nothing to hinder its fulfilment by our conduct, nor yet by unworthy *compromises*, always being careful to be true to our principles.

If we are truly Christian and believe in the Gospel of the Revelation of Jesus Christ, we must ever seek to bring nearer the day of fulfilment of our Lord's Eucharistic intercession for His Church, "that they may be One": and prayer, co-operation with GOD, as well as the true spirit of self-sacrifice in our daily intercourse with men of various opinions, are the best ways of securing the desired end. If we take the Abbé Morel as our example we cannot go far wrong. Truly his life was lived in the very conscious presence of GOD and this biography reveals to us the power and charm that are inseparable from the life of a true and faithful Catholic.

In this preface there will be no attempt to lay down any definite schemes or plans to be adopted by those who pant after "Reunion"; *that* I leave to better and wiser heads than mine; but a few remarks may be made. Surely those in England who seek for the restoration of the "Undivided Church," cannot be content with merely going back to the sixteenth century, with its deeds of lawlessness and methods of violence, as well as its weird contrivances; we must go back much further than that, as the Abbé Morel says, we must revert to the time of the "Undivided Church" itself, and by a patient and laborious study of the Fathers of the Church, seek to rediscover its belief and its life. What more noble letter could be imagined than that which the Abbé Morel addressed to the Russian General, Count Kiréieff? Would that all our controversialists would put down their pens and stay their words, while they read those splendid lines. Again, why is it that so many people refuse to consider how necessary it is to maintain a firm hold upon "Historical Christianity"? Why is the Faith of Christ to be the only thing to which a history and continual course of development and continuity are denied? Why is it permitted to every human society to make its own laws and to enforce them, and yet that power is not allowed to the greatest Society of all, or if it be acknowledged at all, it is only conceded in a very restricted manner, and hedged about with worldly conditions? (e.g. The powerless state of Convocation and the method of Episcopal Elections.) Did our Blessed Lord and Saviour take such infinite care and

pains to found and organize a Church, and to equip her with a definite system, and endow her with duly constitutional functions, to last till He should come again, merely in order that those who should succeed Apostolic times, more or less remote, might set all upon one side and sever the golden links of the chain? Are we in consequence any better than our fathers?

Historical Christianity must be taken into account, and until that is done by *all*, there is no one living who can honestly say that he is what he is by *conviction*, in the truest sense of the term. How often do we find that what are commonly called convictions, are but synonyms for personal likes or dislikes, wilfulnesses or obstinacies, and quite lacking in any real religious foundation, and such persons are usually those who have no idea of any obedience to any authority outside themselves; the baneful effect of which is seen most chiefly in their utter lack of ability to train the young to obey. It is only when our convictions are realities that we can even begin to discuss their diversities, and endeavour to modify them in the light of revealed truth. To whatever religious body we belong, whether through birth, environment, or dare one say by *chance*?—for alas! humanly speaking it is only too true in the case of many persons,—let us be absolutely sure of our convictions and of the reasons for our membership therein.

Though I have never actually seen or heard it asserted, I do not think it can be denied, that nearly, if not all, the plagues of modern life, whether they be political, social, or moral, are largely the outcome of



the divisions of Christendom, and the inconsistent conduct of those who pass as being Christians or have been so accounted in the past. Surely "Socialism," as distinguished from what its devotees used to describe as "Christian Socialism," would never have lifted its pagan head but for the unworthy followers of "the Crucified". What glorious victories and splendid progress might have been made for the cause of Christ, but for our "unhappy divisions"! and if we were but again a united body, how many missionary problems both administrative, economical, and doctrinal, would be immediately solved; and that does not merely apply to the foreign mission field but also to that of home missions. One cannot but feel with shame the seeming justice of the oft-repeated reply of the heathen, the indifferent or the irreligious, when asked to bear the Christian yoke and to take up the cross of our Saviour. "Agree among yourselves and then come and talk to us." Yes, we may try and salve our smitten consciences, with the thought that such an answer is more of the nature of an excuse than anything else on the part of those so replying, but we are none the less guilty for having given the opportunity for the excuse. But as Prebendary Denison, the Author of *The True Religion*, once wisely said to me, what a fuss we are ever making over the "man in the street". We cut our standards and trim our services to suit him and he still remains outside, while the Faithful Remnant, the backbone of the Church, remains starved and neglected, and doctrine degenerates. Many of the difficulties of misbelief or unbelief are

the direct result of the division into hostile camps of those who profess and call themselves Christians. I for one, believe most strongly that the time will come, and is not far distant to-day, when either our divisions will have to cease or Christianity will become a thing of the past. And as a Christian and therefore a believer in Jesus Christ who is both GOD and Man, I am left with no alternative. Hence, I long that this poor effort of mine may serve as one little impulse more in the direction of the great ideal. May anything that I, as layman or as an ambassador of Christ, have ever done to hinder the fulfilment of that great ideal, be taken away and forgiven by our all merciful Father.

Even allowing for differences of habit and of thought existing between the English mind and that of other nationalities, who would not be impressed and supremely moved by the universal eulogy of this devoted son of the Church of France? which Church in the last few years has undergone so terrible an ordeal and which may be the lot of the Church of England before many years are over, unless she rises to the occasion, and with her Fathers in GOD at her head, and understanding her completely, maintains a united front. What forces of the Anti-Christ lie ambushed in the Welsh Disestablishment and Disendowment Bill recently passed by the House of Commons? Have our legislators no conscience, or have party or political expediency taken its place? May those to whom the care of my Spiritual Mother is entrusted as well as those of lower rank who carry on her Master's mission here below, never forget that the Church of England is but

a *part* of the Holy Catholic Church and not an isolation under the special patronage of Almighty GOD. Nay it is quite possible that the Church of England as such may one day cease to exist—but the one thing certain is that the Catholic Church cannot cease to exist. Let her bravely face the future and seek a real and living contact with all professedly Christian bodies as well as those two great parts of the Catholic Church, the Holy Orthodox Church of the East, and the Church which sent St. Augustine to our shores. It is true that she has met with one rebuff from the last named not many years ago, but in his instructive and interesting publication, *A Roman Diary*, Mr. Lacey has given us cause for hope, and there is much consolation in the thought that *Roma locuta est, causa finita est* is not applicable as an insuperable barrier to the case in point.

You, my fellow-Churchmen, who enjoy the daily round of *Worship* and of devotion in the Catholic Church, your *Eucharists*, the daily Offices, and means of grace, and perform your Penances and receive your Absolutions while you taste their delights, receive their consolations, and the supernatural and hidden life in Christ which they impart, remember the weaker brother and him that knows but little of them, whose keepers you are, and, with the missionary zeal according to knowledge, press on to rescue and to instruct the brother for whom Christ died, without whom the Church is not complete. Life is short and time is flowing past, the night cometh when no man may work.

If one has refrained from any special comments

upon the Abbé Gustave Morel himself, it is only because the volume now in the hands of English readers supplies all that is necessary in that respect. One thing only I would like to add. Is it not delightfully refreshing to know that one so loyal to the Holy Father as this young Abbé, was yet so courteous and at ease with "the Anglicans" as to take infinite pains to study them *from within*? This could have been nothing else than the work of the Holy Spirit.

The Abbé Morel's remarks about the need of Authority in the Anglican Church are undoubtedly well founded and we shall do well to lay them to heart. The efficiency of our spiritual work is seriously impaired through our failure both in the highest and lowest positions in the Church to realize that we do not believe or do things in our religious life, whether in our private or public practices of religion, just because we like them but because they are *ordered*. How thoughtlessly we clergy treat the Book of Common Prayer for instance, and as for our *selection* in ceremonial—to say nothing of our *accommodating* attitude in the way of doctrine—it is deplorable. We seem to forget entirely that we do things for GOD'S glory and in obedience to Catholic authority and rule, and not because they are pretty—and again how we strain the meaning of Canonical Obedience, until it almost comes to mean that the inferior is expected to obey the superior, even to the smallest whim and fancy of the latter. We must endeavour to alter these things, and surely Abbé Morel's observations concerning us will do us good—we see ourselves as others see us.



In conclusion, my most grateful thanks are due to Mr. Birkbeck, who so kindly consented to write his most valuable Introduction to the translation, and to read through part of the MS., especially the chapters relating to Russia. To Lord Halifax whose friendly interest, advice, and support have been of so much assistance to me. I must also acknowledge the help of Father Waggett, S.S.J.E., and an Anglican Religious who revised my work, also of many without whom, in various ways, I should never have been able to accomplish my task, and to exhibit it, such as it is, in the light of day. And last, but by no means least, I have the great privilege and delight of being enabled to acknowledge publicly the great kindness and courtesy of the Abbé Calvet (Author of the Biography), and the Abbé Portal (Editor), both of whom have rendered me every assistance within their power, and surrendered to me all rights over the English translation. My thanks are also due to the latter for affording the means of reproducing the portrait of the Abbé Morel which occupies the same place in this book as in the original work.

I plead for the kindest consideration of all my readers, and may we all meet hereafter, before the Throne of Grace, when the Church, no longer Militant but Triumphant and Victorious, shall stand before the Vision of the Blessed Trinity, in the blissful peace of Heaven.

EDMUND J. I. DREDGE.

50 S. THOMAS' ROAD,  
SOUTH HACKNEY, N.E., *March*, 1913.

*N.B.*—The foot-notes are all the same as in the original, except in a few cases where I have thought some English readers would welcome further explanations. Most of the latter are distinguished by the addition of initials. It is just possible that there will be a few among those who will read this book who will think these footnotes have been rather overdone. However I would ask such persons to remember how irritating it is to a reader, in reading a book, to come across in it a word or a phrase in a language unknown to him. That is at least my own experience! The strength of a chain lies in its weakest link, and I am anxious above all, that this book shall be clearly understood and read by the greatest number of persons possible whether they be scholars or like myself quite ordinary members of Society.

E. J. I. D.

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE object of this book is to reveal to the world a good priest of the present day.

I have written it in response to the wishes of the friends of the Abbé Morel to fulfil a sacred duty towards him whose comrade I was for two years, and with whom I sat at the same board, and also to present, before all Christians of the Church in which he was priest, as well as those of the separated Churches whom he loved deeply, the sight and pattern of a truly noble soul.

Although the Abbé Morel died upon the threshold of mature age, he had touched upon a great number of grave questions with regard to which I might have been tempted to have an opinion, which I should have supported by his name and authority. I have precluded myself from a work of that nature; and this little book is not a thesis but a simple story.

The Abbé Morel relates it himself. I have given him the greatest possible opportunity of expression, quoting his own notebooks and his correspondence, and making it my duty, by that means, to preserve the best part of what he has written; the names of people who are still alive will be found here; I have not thought it my duty to suppress them, because they belong to the story, but it goes without saying that

while presenting the Abbé Morel's valuations, I have had no idea of taking them to my own account, any more than I have dreamed of refuting them.

I warmly express my thanks to all those who have laboured with me at this book: to Abbé Morel's friends and near relatives who entrusted us with his diaries and letters and allowed us to reproduce them; to M. Joseph Martin who, with words of delicate precision, afforded us the means of knowing the mind of his best friend; to M. J. Wilbois, both Mathematician and Slavophile, who very willingly laid upon himself the task of editing the pages which concern Morel's thesis and the chapter upon Russia; and to M. Portal who collected and classed together all the documents, and constantly supported me with his advice.

J. CALVET.

PARIS, *January*, 1907.

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## CHAPTER I.

### CHILDHOOD AND EARLY TRAINING.

GUSTAVE MOREL was born in a hamlet of the commune of Ban-de-Laveline, in the diocese of Saint-Dié, on the 21st of March, 1872.

His family, having settled in the country more than two hundred years before, had contracted its habits as well as its character. It would furnish an observer with a perfect type of those agriculturist families of the Vosges, very much attached to their homes and their fields, intelligent, good-natured, a little slow and somewhat sad, but to put it briefly, quite content to live on their labours in the place where their fathers used to live and toil, opposite the mountain which, with an irregularly formed outline, shuts off the horizon. They constitute a race apart, with strongly marked characteristics; even after a superficial observation you could not confuse them with their neighbours the Lorrains. They are more retired, more inward, of deep feeling, but shunning the exposition of their sentiments; they are more serious also, in the sense that they never jest over grave matters, and experience a certain measure of pain in tolerating the joking of other people. In short, although they have their sudden fits of gaiety, they generally appear to be meditative and melancholy. In this corner of Laveline,



at the foot of the Vosges, when the shades of evening fall, everything is expressive of dreariness. The mountains assume strange shapes, the forests which throughout the day were blue, become altogether black, the valleys grow gloomy and like unfathomable gulfs; an indefinable melancholy gradually descends and spreads itself over mankind and everything. This dreariness has impressed itself little by little upon the mind of the Vosgian, has preserved him from those blustering joys which dissipate, and has endowed him with those qualities of thoughtfulness and slow prudence which are his characteristics.

Gustave's father possessed all the qualities of the Vosgian. Tall and of powerful build, walking very upright and with bold and easy gait, he gave one an impression of calm force and self-mastery. He had had leisure in which to improve his mind by means of reading and reflection. He had formed a habit of directing his thoughts and sentiments towards the noblest of ideals; in his correspondence with his son we never come across the smallest vestige of a mean estimate; according to his judgment, it was of far greater value to do one's duty than to gain either fortune or glory. With this nobleness of character was allied a keen sense of reality, a practical mind which knew how to weigh things carefully with an eye to the future, and hated above all else everything of the nature of futility and extravagance. It is easily understood that a mind so sincere as his, was wholly turned towards GOD.

Gustave Morel's mother being still alive, the historian hardly ventures to say that she also has the qualities of her race in full possession. Energetic,



industrious and never weary, she made everything under her hand to prosper, for in her house which she rarely quitted, everything was in its place, and no one was allowed to suffer through her neglect. Tender and devout, she lived with the thought of GOD and excelled in speaking of Him.

In the midst of these surroundings, so pure and peaceful, the earliest infancy of Gustave ran its course. He breathed in the air of the Vosges, he contemplated the thatched roofs of the Brezouard, which he grew to love throughout his whole life with a tenderness all his own ; he allowed himself to be permeated with the lingering melancholy of this corner of the earth, where nothing has moved for years, and which is saturated as it were with tradition. Above all he surrendered himself to the influence of his parents ; instead of going out to play with his companions upon the village green, he loved to seat himself by the fire-side, at his mother's feet, and never tired of listening to the beautiful stories which she used to tell. She knew a great deal about the family, and her trusty memory would go back into the past and bring to life again her grandparents and ancestors, about whom she knew everything—their origin, their appearance, their travels, and their sentiments. Thus, under the double influence both of surroundings and of ancestral line, young Gustave's temperament was formed and balanced ; it was with good reason that it was possible to say in after life, that he was very Vosgian and very Morel.

At the same time education tempered his character. Unwittingly and without attempting to be so, his father was a real educator. On principle he was in

the habit of doing himself first that which he wished those around him to do, and after having set the example, instead of substituting his own conscience for that of his children, he sought to develop within them a spirit of initiative and the sense of responsibility. Forgive these humble details, for they have their own value in the history of the training of a priest of the first order. The boy always had money at his disposal. Proof of what use he made of it was not demanded, but he was obliged to keep an exact account of it for himself, and to write down the details of all his disbursements. This childhood's practice, which is a habit of a rigorous nature, he was accustomed to observe always, and he brought it into use both in his intellectual and in his moral life.

His mind opened out at an early age to religious perceptions, personal and conscious. As a true child of the Vosges, that country where those who have passed away become objects of pious veneration to those who survive them, it was above all to the spiritual influence of the dead that he submitted himself. A certain priest of great virtue, M. L'Hommée, had ministered to the parish of Laveline during the early life of his mother; endowed with eminent qualities and with a rare piety, he had gained the esteem and the love of all his parishioners; more than that, after his death he was venerated as a saint. M. L'Hommée was Madame Morel's ideal of a priest and man of GOD; she used to talk about him to her son in those never-ceasing and intimate conversations during which she expanded the religious consciousness of the child; very soon M. L'Hommée became in a sense more alive than the living themselves, he dwelt as it were

within the home of the family, and he was Gustave's first master. Moreover the virtues which he had practised appeared again in M. de Bazelaire, the *curé* of the parish, in M. Noël, a relative of the family, and in M. Morel, Gustave's godfather. All these good priests, both the dead and the living, preserved around him a religious atmosphere; thus, in addition to the action of race and environment, he was subjected also to a sacerdotal influence.

It is likely that from his earliest days he considered himself destined for the priesthood, and dreamed of following in the footsteps of M. L'Hommée. But if, as a cautious Vosgian, he did not at once take a fixed resolve, at least the priests about whom they used to tell him, as well as the priests he knew, served to provide him with a pattern of a pure and noble ideal of the Christian life; and it was the normal development of this ideal, under the combined influence of education and circumstances, which led him towards the priesthood. Hence his vocation was nothing out of the way, nothing of the nature of a shock; he did not know those hours of religious feverishness and of hopeless lassitude; he knew nothing of a call which was particular and urgent; it never fell to his lot to make an enthusiastic resolution after a fervent retreat; but he became a priest by the gradual and logical evolution of his beautiful mind. If he did think about it early in life, he refrained completely from speaking about it to those around him; rather he kept his secret concealed within his own heart, waiting until it was matured, and until the hour that GOD willed should arrive.

Very early in life he showed signs of a particularly clear and keen intelligence. Before there was any

thought of sending him to school, he had bent his thoughtful head over books and newspapers; and, contenting himself with asking his mother from time to time the names of certain letters, all alone and without any other instructor, he had learned to read. By the same process he acquired the elementary ideas of calculation; and the first teachers to whom he was entrusted were amazed in the face of this rare facility for Mathematics which he revealed.

Some miles away from Laveline, in the cathedral city of Saint-Dié, the "Brethren of Mary" at this period possessed a flourishing establishment, which gathered to itself the children of the better families of the country. Gustave Morel was sent there in the year 1882; and if his parents did not choose the little Seminary for the education of their son, it was because they did not suspect that there was even a germ within him of the vocation for the priesthood. His father, a discreet and practical man, wished to provide him with a useful education under the roof of the Brethren, and then to bring him back again to the paternal home, so that he might continue to cultivate the plot of land upon which his ancestors had laboured.

Very soon, however, they received news from Saint-Dié which went a long way towards upsetting all their plans; young Gustave possessed a prodigious facility for Mathematics; it would be a crime not to allow him to apply himself at leisure to their study; if his parents were willing to furnish him with means of quitting Saint-Dié and going on to the College of Sainte-Marie at Besançon, or the College Stanislas in Paris, the boy would very soon enter the Polytechnic and easily make a brilliant future for himself.



M. Morel, the father, had a hankering after the land for himself and for his children ; he was distressed to see one of them depart from his beloved fields and the tradition of the family. But he was endowed with extreme common sense ; he fully understood that a fine intelligence is capital which it is a duty to turn to good account, and also the favourable circumstances which were offered him were of the nature of an indication of Providence ; so he made up his mind *to do that which it was his duty to do*. M. Stegmüller, a professor at Saint-Dié, was requested to give Gustave elementary lessons in Latin.

M. Stegmüller was a sort of lay priest ; he possessed a warm and generous soul, he was fervently devout, and his keen intellect was both sparkling and passionate. Young Morel admired and loved his master, and his Latin studies were rapidly pushed forward : they were more of the nature of a course of grammar and text, than of a serious and exhaustive study. At the end of two years, during which time his French and mathematical education had not been neglected, they decided that the lad should enter the second form at the Institute of Sainte-Marie at Besançon. Gustave's astonishing facility had thus triumphed over all obstacles.

When he left Saint-Dié for Besançon, he was already a young man of a serious and thoughtful nature. In addition to M. Stegmüller, who had possessed a happy influence over him, he was attached to the director of the house, M. Walter. M. Walter had great powers of attraction, and he excelled in the art of training character. M. Walter already saw his young pupil entering first at the Polytechnic and becoming one of

the celebrities of the scientific world ; he had no suspicion that GOD was intending to preserve this future scholar for Himself : but if he had perceived it, he would have taken the young man by the hand, and very humbly have led him to the altar. For the moment he was contented with having made of him a good Christian : he kept in his remembrance the lad's first communion, on the day after his admission into the house, his constant progress in piety, and that gravity and scrupulous exactitude which he carried into all his religious actions. At times, perhaps, he had seemed to him cold alongside of other boys who were more fervent and enthusiastic ; but Gustave's religious feelings were reasonable, solid, and constant, as things that should serve for every day and last a long while. Besides, M. Walter did not guess how, under this apparent frigidity and cautious reserve, in the contemplative silence of a concentrated mind, an inward life lay concealed, which was warm and intense, and would only expand and burst forth to view very much later on.

Gustave Morel's first beginnings at the Institute of Sainte-Marie at Besançon were painful. He had done little enough Latin, nothing at all of Greek, and he found himself in a class where the classical work was made of first importance. He was not surprised at his first setbacks, and being sure of his powers and of his will, he had no doubts as to his future. His work was constant, regular, and well thought over ; at the end of the scholastic year he became one of the leaders in the second class, and had spoken seriously to his parents of passing in Rhetoric after Easter. Here again his professors were struck with his aptitude for

Mathematics : his exercises were sent to Paris, and the professors in the College Stanislas already looked upon him as one of those laureates who carry off the first awards in every competition, and who effect the reputation of an institution.

The year after, during which he was in the Rhetoric Class, most flattering proposals arrived from Paris at Laveline, Saint-Dié, and Besançon.

Stanislas at all costs wished to have Gustave Morel among its pupils ; they begged his family to determine for themselves the sum that they were prepared to pay for his board ; the mathematical professor declared that he would undertake to receive Gustave first at the Polytechnic, after one year's study. Young Morel's parents and friends beheld with delight this smoothing of the way and the magnificent future which was opening itself out before him. As far as he himself was concerned, he reflected. Ever since he was six years old, he had cherished and developed within his breast his dream of the priestly life. Besides, new reasons for his self-dedication had presented themselves to him both at Saint-Dié and at Besançon, when in touch with his masters ; he said to himself that he would not have done right in leaving Laveline and those thatched roofs of the Brezouard, if it were not in order to give himself to GOD. As to the rest, he did not feel within him any distinct call or a consciousness of being urged onwards by Divine grace : no irresistible force drove him towards the priesthood ; on the other hand, being conscious of his own power, he knew what he was setting aside and that he would only have one step to take in order to enter upon a brilliant career. But after having stirred

up these reflections within his mind, he concluded that Providence would not have guided him with so much care if there had not been something of a special nature in prospect for him, and he made up his mind to do what he ought to do, to lead a life of self-sacrifice and of love for GOD.

Assuredly his vocation was already localizing itself, so to speak ; knowing, by his childhood's experience and that of his youth, all the good that can be effected by good priests, he set himself the task of labouring for the training in the Church of good priests. He was dimly conscious within his own mind, endowed with excellent intuitive powers, of that which he would feel clearly much later on, namely, that in these troublous times it was just there where the special need of the Church lay.

His plans having received a check, he consulted with his parents, with M. de Bazelaire, *curé* of Lave-line, and with his relative, M. Noël. He did not speak of it as if it were a definite resolution, but as though it were a project which it was necessary to mature by prayer and meditation. M. de Bazelaire, who knew him well, did not give him any advice, and referred him to his own conscience. "It is a matter for grave consideration," he wrote, "since it is a question of the employment of your whole life, and it would be of no use to influence you in the matter. Ask a little advice if you wish, but above all, consult yourself." Such letters are only written to a man who is master of himself and capable of making a serious resolution in cold blood. M. Noël was delighted with his kinsman's letter ; he replied to it with effusion, as one who had read between the lines and seen there a definite voca-



tion. He added these words which might go to the heart of the young man and prove to him that in spite of his reserve the fact was sufficiently known. "Your decision has afforded me great pleasure, but not surprised me. The little experience which I have had here<sup>1</sup> of ecclesiastical vocations, has always caused me to hope for and to foresee, with regard to the subject of your letter, that which has taken place." Gustave Morel's father did not hesitate for a moment, to express his approval of his son's proposals; he was only asked to go on thinking over the matter and to pray.

It was to Lourdes that he betook himself to think it over and to pray, in the course of the long vacation in 1888. He had just received his bachelor's degree, and those at Stanislas insisted more and more upon his making his way to Paris. He set out for the Grotto at Lourdes. A friend of his who knew him well and loved him much, tells us how this young Vosgian, ordinarily so reserved and cold, upon his arrival at Lourdes felt himself seized with childish delight; he laughed, he sang, and prayed with rapture. He who was but little ready to confide in others, and who was accustomed to conceal his inner self with a modesty that was full of humility, opened his heart to this friend whom he had seen that morning for the first time, and told him of the use he wished to make of his life. "Yes," said he, "they call me to Paris; I know well that next year I might enter the Polytechnic; I should lead a congenial life, perhaps a brilliant one. *But that is not my life's work*: I have something else to do; I want to be a priest, a good

<sup>1</sup> M. Noël, of whom we shall say more later on, was Professor of Dogma and Holy Scripture at the *Grand Séminaire* at Saint-Dié.

priest, and then I wish to train priests for the Church."

He returned from Lourdes full of gratitude to the Blessed Virgin, who had helped him to see clearly into himself, and fully decided to enter the *Grand Séminaire*. At that time his friend and first Latin master, M. Stegmüller, sent him these few lines which must have filled him with joy: "What is this I hear? you are giving up the Polytechnic and everybody's expectations, and are going to enter the Seminary? if you only knew the joy this gives me, it seems as though I love you as much again. How right you are, my dear fellow! after *pipo*,<sup>1</sup> after the 'Croix d'honneur,' and after riches one has to die, and that is the last lot of every one. They are out of their senses who do not consider this! you have chosen the better part!"

One important question remained to be considered. Why not enter the Seminary at once, since the *Grand Séminaire* possessed a course in Philosophy? On the other hand, why not prepare at once for the Licentiate in Mathematics, for it would only mean entering the Seminary when his studies were so far completed?

Young Morel was much inclined to rest content with the second solution. But in a simple manner, and well assured that Providence would show him the course to adopt, he consulted his confessor, le Père Dagneaux and M. Noël. He made known to both these gentlemen his desire to prepare for his degree, in order to consecrate his life's work, later on, to the training of the clergy, but he would leave with them the burden of fixing the order of his studies. M.

<sup>1</sup> Slang expression for pupils at the Polytechnic.—[E. J. I. D.]

Dagneaux replied that he ought not to leave Sainte-Marie before finishing his course of Philosophy and obtaining his Bachelor of Arts diploma. M. Noël further added that he ought to enter the *Grand Séminaire* immediately afterwards, so as not to delay his ecclesiastical training any longer; and as one accustomed to scholastic deductions, he supported his solution with ten different arguments. Gustave accepted this combination without hesitation, and in a letter to his father he said, "M. Noël need not have furnished me with so many reasons"; if he asked for his advice, it was that he might follow it.

He returned therefore to Besançon at the beginning of the scholastic year, 1888-89, and it was understood that, during his retreat at the beginning of the year, he would make a definite resolution. This retreat was very fervent, he weighed all the pros and cons afresh, and made up his mind to become a priest. Upon receipt of this news, his father, in the name of the whole family, wrote to him these few lines wherein so much nobleness of mind and religious depth manifest themselves: "We are very happy to see that after a fresh retreat your intentions remain the same, that is to say that with GOD'S help you will be able to become one of His preachers; for the days through which we are passing are indeed difficult, and the world is prone to evil rather than to good." Accordingly this vocation was not the fruit of one individual reflection; rather was it, so to speak, the natural outlet of the virtue of a whole race, and it was this entire race which, with delight, gave to the Church both a "preacher" and a defender.

The year of Philosophy ran its course uneventfully.

Gustave Morel received his diploma of Bachelor of Science, on July 18th, 1889, with the comment "very good"; a week afterwards he received his diploma of Bachelor of Literature with the comment "good". He met with an amused smile the remark of the examiner when he said: "If you had not been a little weak in Mathematics you would have received the comment 'very good'".

He passed out of the College of Sainte-Marie with an exceedingly lofty ideal before his eyes. His mind had been trained in the practice of reflection and personal work; he had learned to see behind the words the meaning of things, and if he lacked elegance and brilliancy, he paid attention to exactitude and minute precision. His character, disciplined in reserve and integrity, had been developed and strengthened; and he had not allowed any of those pettinesses and hypocrisies, to which college life sometimes predisposes the young, to enter his nature. I will give an amusing example of this. It is contained in a letter which he wrote to his parents on the 21st of March, 1889, his seventeenth birthday, as he himself indicates.

"For a whole week past I have gained no good marks on account of a rather curious incident, which took place during a lecture in which as you will see I did not act very wrongly. Our professor told us that Napoleon set out for the Island of Elba with 300 men. Upon which the greater part of the class said it was 400. It is an absolute fact that Napoleon did proceed to the Island of Elba with 400 men.

"I am quite certain that all those who were listening to the professor said 400; if we leave the juniors



out of account, there were not three exceptions. Hear what the professor asked me; was it you who said 400? Yes, I replied. I then had to submit to a little sermon, the result of which was a zero for history, and the professor declared that he would not give his lecture. It is probable, in fact almost a certainty, that if I had appealed, I should not have received this bad mark. However, as my marks do not tell me whether I do well or badly, and as it is sufficient to explain the matter for you to believe me, I said to myself that it was not worth the trouble of appealing to the Superior and making a fuss about it."

Gustave's parents did not doubt his integrity for an instant; but his father availed himself of the opportunity afforded him through his misfortune, to give him an excellent lesson.

"You tell us," he wrote, "that you have received a lecture from one of your professors; perhaps you well deserved it. It is never necessary to proceed too quickly, and we ought to know how to stoop and to *reflect*, as a buffoon said one day while playing a trick on the *grande place* of Laveline. We hope a similar event will not occur again."

Before leaving the College, young Gustave Morel desired to declare his thankfulness to GOD for the Christian education which he had there received. This is the prayer which he wrote down, and which he uttered from the bottom of his heart. Common-place in its expressions, as no doubt it is, it will nevertheless give us an idea of the young man's state of mind, because we already know that into everything he said he put the utmost sincerity and his whole being.

“ My GOD, all my life Thou hast poured out upon me manifold favours which I have in no wise merited. Never shall I possess for Thee the love that I owe Thee. O good Jesu, Thou hast made me a Christian, Thou hast made me a sharer in the fruits of Thy sorrowful Passion. By the help of my parents Thou hast taught me to know Thee, to pray to Thee, to love Thee, to reverence Thy Holy Religion and Thy ministers. In Thy goodness reward my parents for the good they have done for me, and for which I am unable to repay them. I cannot sufficiently wonder at the care with which Thy Providence has watched over my instruction and my education. . . . Why, O my GOD, hast Thou placed me in a higher position than my parents? Why didst Thou not will that I should enter the lesser Seminaries? I do not know. In this I adore Thy Holy Will. Never permit me to hesitate to fulfil Thy Will, whenever I know it.”

The religious physiognomy of the future priest displays itself. He has an absolute trust in the Providence which is leading him, and he has made up his mind to do GOD'S Will in all things, so soon as he shall recognize it.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE GRAND SÉMINAIRE

AT the time when Gustave Morel entered it, the *Grand Séminaire* of Saint-Dié was under the direction of certain priests in the diocese, conspicuous for their virtue and their fidelity as priests. The Superior, M. Grandclaude, being very much attached to the past and dismayed at the present, sought to keep his young men in an atmosphere of ecclesiastical tradition, carefully shut away from the current modern influences.

M. Grandclaude, who was a celebrity in the diocese of Saint-Dié and even throughout France, had not always been an adversary of modern ideas. As a schoolmaster in 1848, he had preached, *en blouse bleue*, the Republic and Liberty. But borne onwards towards GOD by his ardent soul, he went to Rome to study Theology and Canon Law, and came back most Ultramontane and Conservative. He had even exercised a kind of apostolate on those around him, and it is said that it was he who had "converted" the future Cardinal Caverot. At the same time he was a man of daring intellect, and full of initiative, and he was before Leo XIII in reviving in France the Philosophy of S. Thomas, by means of a book which has become a classic in many Seminaries.<sup>1</sup>

It may be said that he had established among us

<sup>1</sup> *Breviarum philosophiæ scolasticæ*, 3 Vols.

the teaching of Canon Law, and he it was who founded *Le Canoniste Contemporain*, now under the direction of M. Boudinhon. As head of the *Grand Séminaire* he was good, though firm and severe, and Gustave Morel appears to have always regarded him with profound respect, although this was mingled with a certain degree of fear. The military discipline of the house caused no dismay to this young man, who was accustomed to effort and was desirous of pleasing GOD; but he was conscious of his youth, and having his moments of exuberant mirth, he was tempted to give in to certain pranks of college life, and the relentless code of discipline which served as a check, caused him at least at first a certain measure of sadness. Happily M. Noël was at hand to accustom him to his new life, and by his affection to cause him to forget the restraint.

M. Noël was a tall and massive Vosgian, with a thoughtful face, which was gentle and good. This face was not deceptive: enclosed within this body of the stalwart mountaineer there lay concealed the soul of a child. He was proverbial for his amusing abstractions as poet and scholar: when engaged in following out his mental ramblings he forgot reality, and once he gave alms to the same beggar eight times in succession within five minutes; when perusing the records of Lorraine, or speaking with his friends about the history of villages in the Vosges, he thought no longer of the present, and he had to be reminded of meal-times. He loved his little native country, both in its past and in its history, with a profound love, the patient love of a collector, who is careful as to details and for whom no event is too insignificant and no



object beneath his notice. Being deputed to teach Dogma and Holy Scripture at the *Grand Séminaire*, he zealously set himself to the task ; and as he was capable of prolonged labour, he had rapidly acquired a knowledge of Holy Scripture which was not to be despised. If his methods lacked the precision of the critic, his mind was none the less open ; he was unacquainted with nothing that the prolix commentators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had written, and if he ignored modern questions, it was because he suspected that they were of the nature of novelties. Local history and the teaching of Holy Scripture not being enough to absorb his activities, he founded and managed the *Semaine religieuse* of the diocese, and he took the initiative in, and had under his direction, the Lorraine pilgrimages to Lourdes, organizing them entirely. The Abbé Noël was rejoiced to see a young relative entering the Seminary, who was like him and would continue his work ; accordingly he loved him as his own child.

Abbé Morel's affection for his relative was composed of admiration, together with devotion and the utmost sympathy. This man had made a conquest of him by his learning, his love for GOD, and by means of the knowledge he possessed of the history of the Vosges, as well as by reason of the indescribable charm, which emanated from his candour and good will. The time was to come, when his mental horizon had been widened, and when he had come into contact with modern criticism, that the Abbé Gustave would perceive the gaps in his kinsman's knowledge and would permit himself to inquire into his conclusions ; but he was always subject to the influence of his moral force,

his piety, and gentleness. M. Noël was certainly one of those men who had a very real and direct influence on this self-taught man, who wished to depend only on himself: the qualities of the master are found in the disciple even down to those points of detail which are characteristic of a moral physiognomy.

In spite of this influence Abbé Morel's first year at the Seminary seems not to have been very fruitful. He felt himself in a foreign land. Though passionately fond of Mathematics he was obliged to forego their study; from a Philosophy presented in French and open to modern ideas, he dropped into Latin Scholasticism, at once superficial and crabbed. His fellow-students have not forgotten the detached and almost disrespectful tone with which he spoke of it. Accustomed to live with fellow-pupils whom he knew and loved, he experienced a kind of uneasiness in associating with those whom he did not know, and moreover, whose very real value was not apparent all at once.

On account of his habit of keeping himself to himself, they grew to think of him as a confirmed mathematician, and as an unimportant and commonplace person; this impression lasted to the end of his time in the Seminary, and it may be said that the greater number of his colleagues did not know him.

Little by little, however, a few of the Seminarists felt themselves attracted by his bright intelligence, his piety, and the kind of austere charm of his countenance; and when they succeeded in knowing his mind, which wittingly he but slowly exposed to view, it was a delight to them. As to himself, he was touched by these spontaneous evidences of sympathy which reached him in his moral solitude, and with these few picked comrades

he cemented a very strong friendship, full of glow and at the same time of reserve.

To the existence of this friendship we owe a continuous correspondence, which from now onwards will be our guide in our narrative, and will permit us to appreciate the richness of soul of our friend. One of his closest friends, in sending us the letters he received from him, writes as follows: "It has sometimes fallen to my lot to read letters which have been left behind them by men of noble minds; in none of them have I found more loftiness of thought and more humility than in those of my dear friend. I entrust them to your care, and you have my permission to make any quotations from them you may please. They will perhaps be of some use to you in your preparation of his biography; they will at least show you the loftiness of the thoughts of the Abbé G. Morel, the ideal of saintliness to which he strove to attain, and the generous love for Christ and His Church that consumed his heart." The reader will not complain therefore, if we quote very long extracts from these letters as well as from all the others which have been sent to us; what words of ours could rise to the height of these accents of a truly priestly soul telling its own story?

Adhering to this correspondence for our source of information, it would appear that it was during his second year in the Seminary that Abbé Morel was seized with the idea of the priesthood; this idea by degrees impressed itself upon him, and at the outset of his third year he was another man. He did not experience within him any of those sudden crises which change the heart's centre; it was rather of the nature of a resolution of slow maturity, reasoned out and laid

hold upon with fortitude ; after this it was an unfolding of the will and a continual vigilance in order to keep his resolution. It was then that he commenced to keep his daily notebook, in which from thenceforth he always carefully made notes of his smallest actions. There is nothing literary about this notebook. Abbé Morel did not worship at the shrine of rhetoric or of fine phraseology ; it might even be said that he forbade himself to take any notice of his impressions and opinions ; he contented himself with recording the employment of his time and drawing up as it were a plan of self-examination. It was at this time also that he joined a religious society of priests and seminarists, who aimed at mutually helping each other to become better : each evening they had to record, in bulletin fashion, the worth of their various daily actions, and at the end of the month they had to send this bulletin to the director of the association. Abbé Morel was faithful to this rule and we fail to notice later on, even at the time when preparations for ever-recurring and varied examinations entirely absorbed his mind, that he ever omitted each day thus to detail his inner life and to note its manifestations.

He complains bitterly of being invaded by pride : he was conscious of his own power and worth, and all his life long he feared that in this consciousness there was something of the nature of illusion and vanity. To combat this pride he felt it was necessary to think constantly about GOD ; and he declares with sorrow that the thought of GOD eludes him. "My GOD, help me," he cries, "for I need Thee ! pride prevaleth against me." It was his desire to recognize GOD in all he did. The conversations of his friends and his own



travels during vacation enchanted him ; but he says : “ This dissipation is bad, it has no other effect than to alienate us from GOD ”. However, sometimes the words of his friends brought him still nearer to GOD, and then he rejoiced at it. “ How much good do serious conversations effect,” he writes. “ Truly I was not born to be engrossed with pleasantries and trifles.” He was unable to occupy his mind with anything other than the thought of and love for GOD. During the vacations he studied music, but in a humble spirit he accuses himself of having tasted its charm without reflecting that it was nothing else than a mirror of GOD’s own Loveliness ; he spent few days without a visit to his mountain and his forest, but he complains of being unable to go alone, so as more perfectly to enjoy the Majesty of GOD which they reveal. “ What a happiness it is to know GOD,” he writes, “ and to know how noble and good He is ; whereas there are many people who never think of Him.” He wished each day to retire within himself still more, to shut himself in his cell and create a stillness around him, so as to listen to GOD speaking to him direct : “ To forget all in order to hear nothing else but the voice of God, this must be Heaven ”. Self-mortifications, privations, and voluntary penances already appeared to him as moral discipline, by means of which to escape from the embrace of mere Matter and to draw closer to GOD. Little by little he habituated himself to the practices of a methodical asceticism, which were moderate and rational at first, but later on perhaps grew excessively severe. But there was in his asceticism no satisfaction of the imagination or of self-love ; there were none of those mystical enthusiasms which have supported certain

great saints. All his penitential exercises were the result of calculation, the effect intended being to render him master of himself, and to wean him from himself in order to give himself up to GOD.

During his second year in the Seminary, and especially during the third, his love for work, which Scholastic Philosophy had chilled somewhat, manifested itself afresh and with even greater impetuosity than before. It was a strange phenomenon which took all his friends by surprise : for a time he was so carried away by his passion for study that an enthusiasm for Science took possession of him and one beheld a positive mathematician transformed into a lyric poet.

It was Speculative Theology which gave him this poetical fit. His keen and expansive mind entered into the spirit of dogmatic problems, it soared beyond them, and when the moment arrived in which impotent reason could discover nothing further, he abandoned himself to the charm of the dream which his faith unfolded before his eyes. Going back again to the beginning, he now read those philosophers upon whom for a time he had looked down ; the more positive writers had no longer any attraction for him, but he attached himself to the great idealists, to those whose conceptions came very near to theological speculations. His sudden affection for Plato was a real event ; he unceasingly talked about him ; and his friends, who up to that time had seen him so reticent, cold, and calculating, did not know what to make of his enthusiasm.

" I am sure," one of his friends wrote to him on the 12th of August, 1892, " that you have been renewing the acquaintance of the noble pines of the forests of

Laveline. Upon such occasions I could indeed wish I were your guardian angel, so that I might hear those fine discourses of yours, and seize those outbursts which escape from your heart which so well knows how to understand and to enjoy real beauty, that beauty which we perceive athwart the magnificence of Creation, which is but the reflection of GOD'S Loveliness, that Loveliness which only devout minds may observe in all its radiancy and mysterious meaning. But am I not too much of a naturalist to pass over in silence the beauty in those ideas of which you would speak and which I do not know how to appreciate, you who would *swoon* away in admiration before a row of figures or a page of S. Thomas or of Plato?" Another fellow student writing to him on the 3rd of September, says: "Before proceeding further, I stop to tell you that your letter is a splendid lyric. If it is your friend Plato that gives you such grand ideas, I will also frequent his company. . . . In the first volume of Rohrbacher there is a shoal of quotations borrowed from Plato which the Fathers of the Church would certainly never repudiate. Each time I read these lines I think of you, for you and your friend Plato are inseparable. That great man serves another purpose besides your instruction, you see, he causes me to think of you."

He brought the same enthusiasm into his study of Mathematics which, since his departure from college, he had neglected. He went back to them, but what interested him in Mathematics was the kind of poetical prolongation which they may have in the more lofty speculations of Theology or Philosophy; it was the mystic dream which they are able to call forth into



action, in minds such as those of Kepler or Père Gratry. He read with eagerness the lives of great scholars, and for more than a year his mind was dominated by their example.

On the 17th of August, 1892, he wrote to one of his friends in the Seminary: "In a few spare moments I have succeeded in reading again the biographies of several scholars, Copernicus, Tycho Brahé, Kepler, Galileo, and Pascal. They are extremely interesting. If you were to read, my dear fellow, what Kepler says about Geometry, you would not be surprised at my finding poetry in things of the most abstract kind. Kepler speaks of Geometry, of eternal truths, and of the Divine Intelligence, in a manner truly lyrical. I do not know who it was that first said that Mathematics wither up the heart. Whoever he was, he was a fool, when he invented that saying, which has come to be almost commonplace. He was a fool, because he spoke of that about which he knew nothing. Kepler or Pascal could have taught him something on this subject. Kepler is not satisfied with finding the likeness of GOD in geometrical truths; he likewise tries to discover in them a resemblance to the mystery of the Holy Trinity, and in his works we find a chapter entitled, *De adumbratio Trinitatis in circulo*.<sup>1</sup> Is it from him then that we must learn what Mathematics really are?"

At the same time he makes in his daily notebook the following observations: "I have read the conclusion of the Introduction to the life of Ampère. There is indeed within it something to arouse enthusiasm for the truth, and for GOD the source of all beauty and all

<sup>1</sup> Upon the adumbration of the Blessed Trinity in the circle.

truth. . . . I had scarcely a thought for anything else but Mathematics while telling my beads after Vespers. O my GOD, allow me never to desire to know the secrets of Science for any other purpose than to please Thee and love Thee more. If the Sciences satisfy the intellect, it is because they have within them something of Thee, and Thou dost not reveal them to man's knowledge except in order that Thou mayest be glorified by him." As we shall see very soon, Abbé Morel was going to return to a definite and systematic study of Mathematics : he had given them up in order to devote himself to Speculative Theology, and Theology brought him back to the point where he left off, or rather, in proportion to his advance, and to the expansion of his intellectual horizon, instead of leaving his former acquirements by the roadside, he reduced them all to unity by his faith, and endeavoured to make everything minister to GOD'S glory.

It was an intense delight to him. And as he was twenty years of age and found that the world was good, as he had loving and devoted friends, and as his pliable mind multiplied to infinity his dreams of GOD'S majesty and goodness, he discovered that it is good to live, to enjoy GOD'S air and light, and he became a poet. He had always been poetical in the forest and on the mountain, where he loved to lose himself and to rediscover in some measure the soul of his ancestors ; now he carried this exuberance with him into the Seminary and into his correspondence, and all his friends were amazed at the change that had come over him. One of his old college friends who had become a student, wrote to him from Paris : " My dear Poet, how in the world have you managed

to throw to the winds your extreme positivism of former days and to allow yourself to be drawn into the stream of poetry. . . . You, a practical man *par excellence*, the mathematician emeritus and sworn enemy of the imaginative arts; you seem to me to have turned a complete somersault, so much so that I, the old milk porridge of ideality [*sic*]*—why—by your side, I almost discover myself to be a mathematician. It was there, deep within you, like a kind of sleeping germ, which all of a sudden has started growing and has burst forth into flower like the cherry trees in spring. I am thoroughly happy as I gather its blossoms and its perfume. Isn't life a glorious thing? I mean the outward life which is wild and natural, the life of the flowers and trees, the life of the fields; and to us it is a joy in which splendour blends, to breathe in the cool air of the evening and to intoxicate ourselves with the odours of spring."*

It was a veritable turning point of youth. Abbé Morel made verses; it is true that they are mediocre, very inferior to his prose, and that only in a clumsy and uncertain manner do they interpret the splendour of his inner dreams. Amongst his intimate friends he became gay, expansive, youthful in animation, and amusing; when he was present one never felt dull, and even pleasure parties seemed tedious if he were absent. From that former coldness of his he always retained great reserve before people with whom he was not acquainted, and before those who were indifferent; but towards his friends he was lavish of the treasures of his imagination and his heart. He was happy, and those around him were happy. The memory of those years in the Seminary is ineffaceable, that place where

young and active men, who without any regret for the world give themselves to GOD, are of one mind and heart, in an atmosphere of unclouded friendship, illumined by faith. Even to the priest whose ministry is fruitful and blessed by GOD, those years of the novitiate remain the most delightful of his whole life, and he remembers them with tender affection, like a Christian dream on a Spring morning.

This joyous candour and smiling good-will won for Abbé Morel the deepest affection. Since, in opening the door to joyfulness, he had continued to be reasonable, solid, and of good counsel, they used to vie with each other for the honour of possessing his letters, and both for his comrades outside, and his friends in the Seminary during vacation, he became a sort of director. Without doubt the circle of privileged ones was restricted, but to those within it, he was indeed a sure friend, one to whom a man says everything and who can find the word which solves all difficulties and calms all sorrows. One time it would be some choice soul, hesitating between the priesthood and the world, who would speak with him of his generous dreams, his deceptions, and discouragements, and would beg him to pray for him, and to write to him, assuring him that he found peace in reading his good counsels. Another time it would be a young seminarist, humble, gentle, and refined, but bruised by the hard facts of life, who sought refuge in his warm friendship. Again it would be another seminarist, full of heart but of most youthful intellect and of no experience, who had brought himself into bad repute by his want of tact and, now losing heart, would soon really deserve the opinion which had



been unjustly formed of him, but who recovered his self-respect and gained the power to rise, thanks to the letters of Abbé Morel. Yet once again it might be a young man of the world who had known Abbé Morel at college, and who would seek consolation in his sufferings and deceptions by opening out to him his whole heart and imploring the Abbé to send to him at Paris, from Saint-Dié or Laveline, a few of his good letters, "which breathe the odour of the heather of our native country". The correspondence with this young student, which lasted for the space of two years, contains a heart-breaking drama, throbbing with reality. If discretion permitted its publication it would be seen what absolute trust Abbé Morel knew how to gain, and how great were the wounds which he knew how to dress and to heal. This young man had all of a sudden lost his faith and had naïvely told him, "As to religion, blow the light out! There is precious little left of the fantastic scaffolding erected in my head with so much care, by the former masters of my youth!" But this recklessness does not give him any happiness: "You fancy I am free," he writes, "but I am not; free! that I shall only be on the day when I have lost all scruple and all belief; unhappily I cannot see even a glimpse in the distance of that, in spite of my efforts. And even supposing that day were to come, do you know what use I should make of my freedom? simply to die, and there's an end of it; death is better than a life of misery with no hope of happiness. . . . I hope on still, man cannot live without hope, but this hope is very feeble and gets less each day. When it has disappeared entirely, your unfortunate friend will no longer be able to live."

The hour arrived when, hope being dead, the unhappy fellow was at the point of killing himself. "I am going mad; a quarter of an hour ago I held my revolver in my hand and I asked myself most seriously whether I should blow out my brains or no. In the end I said no, because it was too silly, or I should say rather, that I have postponed the festivity until later on. . . . Unquestionably I shall come to a bad end either by some act of violence or a potion of some kind. . . . This that I carry about with me is hell, and I ask myself how, tortured to such an extent, I have had the courage to exist until now." Fortunately, even in these tragic moments, the desperate young fellow continued his habit of writing to Abbé Morel and opening out to him his heart. "I suffer too greatly," he used to say to him, "I must empty my mind and you are my reservoir; I direct my steps to its edge. Why is it so? I have no idea; but the fact is that in the whole world there is only one man to whom I speak entirely as I think, and that man is you." With loving tenderness and the skill of a spiritual director, Abbé Morel, instead of running foul of this exasperated sufferer, soothed him little by little with kindly letters, and, without making it apparent, provided him with fresh motives for hope, and he was successful enough to restore him at last to perfect tranquillity. His friendship with him had saved his life. Such already was the radiancy of this soul as it opened itself out to Christian life and gladness.

This religious and poetical enthusiasm, which during his third year in the Seminary had transformed Abbé Morel, fell away from him by degrees; and in consequence of an illusion which is common enough

in the spiritual life, the young seminarist, no longer feeling himself lifted up above the world and himself, believed that he had lost all fervour and all devotion, and that GOD was punishing him for his pride. "In proportion to the progress that I make in my Seminary," he writes in his diary, "I become of far less worth; it is my foolish pride which is the cause of this." Another day he bemoans his condition in the following terms: "There is no longer any energy in me; I no longer attend to what the professor says in class; I no longer know how to pray; I am sinking into indifference". He was deceiving himself; this energy which he had lost was the unnatural enthusiasm of the age of twenty, an enthusiasm which by its own nature is ephemeral, and unable to constitute a basis for the priestly life. Entering into reality, which is dull and arid, Abbé Morel was now going really to mould himself; besides, it must be noticed that he was returning to his true character, his own temperament, which was above all things positive, calculating, and cold. Life was beginning, in so far as the first difficulties were making their appearance.

Henceforth, in place of this enthusiasm as his support in all his wearinesses, and in all the difficulties which life was holding in reserve for him, he would possess a consciousness which had been born within him, and which had been developed with him, but which at this moment assumed a preponderant position within his soul—I ought to say which pervaded it entirely, and this was the consciousness of GOD'S Providence.

Undoubtedly every Christian believes in Providence and knows that all is foreseen and directed



by GOD, but with Abbé Morel this belief had something personal within it, something that was original, more living and more intimate. As he says himself, he was conscious of being led by the hand towards the place which he was to occupy in the world; he distinctly beheld GOD watching over him, disposing all things around him and intervening in all the details of his existence. The custom which he had adopted of noting down every evening the smallest events of the day, allowed him to forget nothing which concerned him, and, going over the past, he loved to see in the chain of events, the all protecting Hand of GOD. This faith and trust endowed his life with a peaceful calm which struck all those who knew him. In his most difficult moments, when he asked himself whether all his dreams were not about to be upset and all his desires with regard to study to be thwarted, he remained without anxiety, demanding nothing and taking no step, because he knew that whatever happened would be willed by GOD, and consequently would lead him along the path of duty to the possession of happiness. "You are right," wrote his former professor in Philosophy, "to allow yourself to be guided in all things by Providence. Await GOD'S direction, ask for it, He will never fail you."

He believed that he saw a special proof of the action of Providence on his behalf, in an event which appears to have made a deep impression upon him and to have decided the direction which his life eventually took. Certain of his friends, who knew of his wonderful aptitude for Mathematics, endeavoured to make him decide to resume their study; others preoccupied with the close proximity of the time for military service,

proposed that he should excuse himself as a science student, and not as an ecclesiastical scholar. All of them were of the opinion that he ought to enter his name as licentiate at the *Faculté de Nancy* and during the free time which theological work permitted, by himself, to make a special study of Mathematics. But M. Noël had to be won over to this scheme and above all M. Grandclaude. Abbé Morel would take no step; he left his friends to exercise themselves about him and he awaited the decision of Providence.

Contrary to his expectations, the Superior of the *Grand Séminaire* gave him leave to enter his name as licentiate at the *Faculté de Nancy* and to devote his spare time to Mathematics. It was with supreme joy that he returned to his favourite occupation which he had laid aside for three years; it seemed to him that, in disposing thus of matters in the face of a thousand difficulties which had appeared insurmountable, Providence had willed to mark out his course and show him what was expected of him. "What a happiness it is," he exclaimed, "to be allowed to see clearly in one's life! I am going to study Mathematics for the love of GOD." He wrote to all his friends to acquaint them with this great piece of news, this manifestation of GOD'S Will. "I have written a long letter to M.," he notes in his diary, "putting before him the part taken by Providence, I related the story of my registry at Nancy. . . . with regard to that matter I spoke to him about the star of the Magi." That star was destined to shine continually with its bright light before the eyes of Abbé Morel and to illumine his life.

Not contented with writing to his friends that they might share with him his delight, it seemed to him

that he ought to have at hand a visible remembrance of this event, which might prompt him to thank GOD daily. He took upon himself therefore, to write for himself alone, a detailed account of all that had taken place up to the commencement of his fourth year in the Seminary ; he named it the genesis of his vocation for Mathematics. For four days he was devoutly absorbed in this task, with a carefulness for minute exactitude and a strange fervency : it seemed to him as though he were writing the account of a miracle.

He says to begin with : “In life there are some impressions which a man is unable to keep entirely within the depth of his heart ; he must find means of expression in order to relieve his mind. A series of events which have happened for some months past has made upon me an impression of this kind. In these events I have had reason to believe that I could recognize the Hand of Providence so obviously, that I am obliged to write them down. . . . My GOD, I believe in Thy Providence and I thank Thee for this faith. I believe that in Thine infinite Wisdom, not only dost Thou direct the great events of the lives of nations and of particular individuals, I believe also that Thou art concerned in the smallest details of my own life, and that Thou dost make use of them in order to lead me on to the fulfilment of Thy Will concerning me. . . .

“I have never had the intention of renouncing Mathematics, as some have desired to believe. On the contrary, I have always been persuaded that the Sciences would some day or other again become one of my principal occupations. Accordingly, during my first year in the Seminary, I studied the first chapters of Bertrand’s *Algebra*. But I did not delay to stop my-

self—for no reason other than my idleness. The following year Thou causedst me to understand, O GOD, the necessity of obeying the rule of the Seminary, with regard to the distribution of my time. Being resolved, therefore, to give all the time to Theology which was allotted to it, I had few spare moments. . . .

“However, during the winter of that same year (1890-91) while M. Noël was expounding the Epistle to the Galatians, I read Plato's *Republic*; *La Vie d'Ampère* by M. Valson; and the philosophical *Summa* of S. Thomas. These writings created within me a hitherto unexperienced love for GOD and for Truth, to such an extent that those who had known me as cold and positive were profoundly astonished, and regarded me as a poet. In my enthusiasm for supreme Truth, Mathematics have borne their part; since then I have considered them as being among some of the most luminous rays from the Sun of Knowledge, among those truths the study of which may lead more directly to the knowledge, admiration, and love of Divine Beauty. From that time onwards they have appeared to me a subject which is most worthy of the study of beings who have been created to know GOD and to love Him.

“I see myself still sitting in the place I used to occupy at that time in the lecture-room of Philosophy; I wrote ardent letters to D., C., M., and B. upon Plato's ideas, upon S. Thomas, upon Truth, Beauty, and Goodness. With Plato I found the world of ideas far more real than that of sense; I thought myself born to live in that region of intelligences, which to me was nothing less than Heaven.

“The strength of these impressions which were so



new to my positive disposition of mind was not long in diminishing, but the conception which I had formed of Mathematics remained; it strengthened while it elevated my love for the Sciences, and I found I was more than ever determined to make them some day or other the subject of my studies."

Abbé Morel next enters into abundant details of conversations and letters which had recalled him to his study of Mathematics whenever he was tempted to forget them. It seemed as though he were under the continual influence of Providence which constrained him. At length he made up his mind to enter his name as licentiate and to work at special mathematical study. But how was he to obtain permission from M. Grandclaude?

"The Superior granted much more than I asked. M. Noël saw him after the High Mass; he obtained permission for me to go to Nancy, and told me that he would accompany me. He added, 'The Superior wishes to see you'." M. Grandclaude then himself gave him leave to enter as licentiate. "And then to my great astonishment the Superior went on to say, 'As far as the employment of your time is concerned, the preparation for the ministry ought always to be the chief thing, the rest is merely accessory. If you do not procure for yourself a knowledge of Theology now, you will not acquire it later on. With regard to the preparation for your license, you will ask the professors to tell you how much time you ought to devote to it, and you will look upon what they say as an interpretation of ruling authority.' After this I thanked the Superior, and taking leave of him I went into the chapel to return thanks to GOD for what had taken

place. . . . The result of all this was clearly that I had only to prepare for the license without loss of time ; with the greatest possible clearness, events have determined that this is the vocation with which for the time being I ought to be concerned. . . . I acknowledge therefore, O Divine Providence, Thine intervention in the facts which are here related, and I see in them the manifestation of Thy Will. But I know nothing of the future, I do not know definitely what are Thy designs concerning me : I have only to fulfil my present duty and allow myself to be led in submission by Thine adorable Hand : permit me never to fail either in the one or in the other."

Such then, in short, is Abbé Morel's narrative ; he preserved it with care ; he often read it<sup>1</sup> and has himself made a note of having read it again on the 8th of September, 1901, that is to say, at a time when his future appeared most uncertain, and when he had need of renewing his trust in Providence. It may be said therefore, that this strong and open-hearted faith in the constant action of GOD upon him and in his behalf, was one of the noblest characteristics of the religious temperament of Abbé Morel.

Having been led back again to Mathematics by the Will of GOD, he set himself to study them with zeal. He rose very early in the morning, and before his companions had begun their day he had worked out

<sup>1</sup> One detail should be mentioned which will serve in giving us a good idea of the great sensitiveness of his soul. After having written this account he was afraid lest he had been prompted to write it by pride ; he turned to GOD therefore, and asked for humiliations, and for many days he wrote at the head of his notebook the following invocation : " My GOD, do whatever Thou will'st with me, as long as I may love Thee ".



a problem or found the solution of a difficulty. He writes in his journal : " I have made progress with my researches into the Conjugate Ellipses of Descartes, begun three months ago. The passion for equations will not be long in returning." These Ellipses occupied him many months longer : " My problem grows more and more interesting," he writes, " but I begin to ask myself whether I shall ever be finished with it. Each discovered result puts me upon the track of another which in its turn leads me on still farther." The masters of distinction, to whom he sent his calculations, were amazed to find him directing himself alone in researches where the best have need always of an initiator and a guide.

He had promised M. Grandclaude not to neglect the study of Theology and he kept his word. We see by his journal, that he did not content himself with the courses of lectures by the professors, but that he read Cardinal Franzelin with care and eager delight, " who," he says, " has some magnificent theses ". He plunged into the depths of the problem of Divine Grace ; but, always avaricious of strict facts, he found that Père de Régnon " is not sufficiently clear ". Devout meditation and theological investigation met together : having been led to write a sermon upon the well-known text *Divinae Consortes Naturae*,<sup>1</sup> he studied it in all its aspects, and while he studied it he prayed, and was altogether amazed at the new splendours which faith revealed to him ; the reality of the supernatural world was evident to him and he saw that this text " expresses a fact not a figure ". Unquestionably up to then he had believed in the supernatural

<sup>1</sup> " Partakers of the Divine Nature," 2 Peter 1. 4.—[E. J. I. D.]

life; but now he felt it and touched it, and the new perception went a long way towards transforming his manner of life.

He went into retreat with the subdeacons, although he was not to take part in the ordination, and he said to himself that throughout the year which still separated him from the subdiaconate, he ought not to pass a single day without thinking of the obligations which he would have to undertake, and the dignity which he was going to receive. To prepare his soul he laboured hard to get rid of his pride. "Pride is my capital fault," he writes with bitterness; "because I am full of pride, I never ask for explanations, and want to solve all my difficulties alone." His progress in asceticism was constant; he deprived himself of sleep, although there were times when he experienced an invincible need of slumber; he remained in his room without a fire, although he was particularly sensitive to cold; he cut his food short, though he felt hungry. The radiance of his supernatural life was outwardly apparent. With his letters and his advice he sustained his friends who had left for the barracks. "It is necessary to submit ourselves with a good heart to GOD'S Will," he wrote to one of them, "and to persuade ourselves that in all His decisions He has nothing but our good in view. As to the rest, it is not necessary for the possession of perfect submission to the Divine Will that you accept it without feeling some repugnance within yourself. Suffering remains suffering; moreover we feel it keenly; nature desires to kick at it, but if the will remain submissive that is all GOD demands. You say that you have always believed that we do not serve GOD aright while we feel diffi-

culties in serving Him; that is absolutely false: it is precisely in feeling these difficulties, in attacking and conquering them, that our merit consists. . . . Do not alarm yourself then if you feel the temptation to complain of the lot which has befallen you; think upon GOD and make an act of submission to His Will; repeat this act as many times as may be necessary; you will feel stronger against yourself after that, and you will have nothing more to do than to thank GOD for having afforded you the opportunity of proving to Him your good-will."

The young soldier profited by these counsels. Abbé Morel accordingly wrote in a month's time to congratulate him and to induce him to persevere in his good resolutions. "I note with pleasure," he said, "that although you have had a few moments of discouragement, you have taken your part none the less bravely. You have not only a speculative faith, but also a practical one which gains the upper hand over painful impressions, and causes you to experience in your unhappy position something which bears a resemblance to happiness. Faith is a wonderful virtue, it is a power in the face of all weaknesses, a remedy against all ills, protection from every fear, the balm for all wounds, and a talisman in opposition to every plague. . . . Who can count the benefits we derive from faith? Who can express all that is comprehended in the peace procured for us by Jesus Christ? It is satisfaction for the noblest needs of intellect and heart. It is rest in weariness and joy in the midst of griefs. The Christian does not deny sorrow like the Stoic, but what is more strange he accepts it and delights in experiencing and submitting to it. . . . To

the Christian, persons, things, and events become constant benefits, because they are to him the expression of the Divine Will and goodness, and lead him onwards to Heaven's own happiness. *Diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum. Pax quæ exuperat omnem sensum.*"<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, in a third letter, Abbé Morel shows his friend how he is able to find GOD everywhere, and each day press on to perfection.

"When we say that GOD is everywhere, we must not by that phrase understand merely the sum total of all places; we must mean everything we can see, feel, know, and comprehend. Everything which is not GOD, has been made by GOD; every creature is made in some fashion in the image of GOD; consequently we may rediscover GOD in everything, and this is the greatest happiness that man can taste upon earth.

"There is no joy comparable to that which we experience in our thoughts of GOD; happy is he indeed who often lifts up his heart to GOD, and who knows how in everything to discover the traces of His Divine progress which He has left behind Him. These traces are shrouded in mystery; we only experience the more delight in discovering them, because we feel that they contain within them the beginning of an infinite Beauty which must one day reveal itself to us. We feel that we do not see all, only indeed a very little, but we are persuaded that we have found something Divine, and that is enough to give us most lofty conceptions of the Majesty and Perfection of GOD. We know Almighty GOD so little; let us make use of everything which

<sup>1</sup> "All things work together for good for those who love God."  
 "The Peace which passeth all knowledge."—[E. J. I. D.]



helps us to know and love Him better. Just as all our acts of will can and ought to be referred to GOD, so all the acts of our intellect can be directed towards GOD who is the Truth Eternal."

We see the direction which Abbé Morel's thoughts naturally took, and how, expanding little by little, his mind rose above mean realities in order to fix itself upon GOD. Henceforth this world's events, even those which most closely concerned him, did not seem to him to be worthy of his preoccupation. The time was approaching when he also would have to pass through the experience of military service; and if he sometimes thought about it, it was solely to pray GOD to accomplish His Will. He desired nothing; in spite of all the advances which people made to him, he would demand nothing before the Board of Revision;<sup>1</sup> and when he was drafted into the auxiliary service, he undoubtedly rejoiced at the thought that his clerical studies would not be interrupted, but his delight was restrained, and that which was uppermost in his mind was his love for GOD's Will.

His fourth year in the Seminary, which was in reality so fervent, appeared to Abbé Morel to be too "disturbed and not enough given to GOD". From the moment that he was freed from military service he steadily recovered his self-possession; he shut himself up within himself in order to be alone in the sight of GOD, and he fixed his whole attention upon the thought of the subdiaconate which was drawing near. When we read over his diary we are struck with the fact that every evening this thought is recalled to

<sup>1</sup> The Board that examines the recruits and decides whether or not they are to be admitted into the army.—[E. J. I. D.]

mind ; we feel that he lived these six months in perpetual retreat, as though each day were the eve of his Ordination. With this before us we can imagine what took place within the depth of his heart and mind and how, throughout this constant meditation, reflections sensible and *realistes* were mingled with the purest outbursts of love. We find a trace of these feelings in a letter which, at the beginning of the vacation of 1893, he wrote to a friend who was then in barracks.

“ We all have faith and know perfectly well that when GOD sends us sufferings He bestows upon us a favour for which we ought to render thanks and bless Him. But directly we feel sorrow, poor human nature complains and knows nothing further than to ask for deliverance. Our faith is neither living nor deep enough, it does not so rule our intellect as to make it judge everything solely from a supernatural point of view. If original sin had not enfeebled the intellect and if the order placed within us by our Creator, which was to balance our intellectual faculties and those of sense, still existed, no sensation, no sentiment, or sorrow would have power to divert our mind ; but everything within us is out of gear and we are not master of our own house. When we are in pain we understand perhaps that we must be resigned, but we do not know that over and beyond this we ought to delight in suffering as a great favour ; our one desire is that we may see the end of it. They are happy, therefore, who think to humble themselves before GOD in their deep misery and absolute feebleness, and implore Him to teach them the value of His gifts and to replenish their will with power and love.

“ You will observe that I speak as one who is in



good health and lacks nothing. The saints when they had nothing to suffer believed that they were abandoned by GOD. I do not think, however, that I ought to reason thus at this moment; if, indeed, GOD has not judged me to be worthy to take your place in barracks: by allowing me to go to Lourdes He has bestowed upon me a favour which is more easy to accept with thankfulness. On the point of becoming subdeacon I feel more than ever how much need I have of Mary, in order to come to GOD. I will prostrate myself at her feet, tell her of my trust, my love, and gratitude, and place again within her hands my soul and body, that she may purify them, may cause virtues like to her own to germinate within them, and that she may make of them an offering less unworthy of her Divine Son, and herself present them to Him upon that happy and formidable day when I shall take the decisive step towards the Altar of the Living GOD. She it is who, contrary to my expectation, has brought near the day so long desired; since she has been so good to me, I entrust to her the care of completing that which she has begun; it is through her that I shall dedicate myself to her Son, and when asking her to present me to Him upon the day of my subdiaconate, I will also ask her to present me to Him at the Eternal Day. . . . My dear A., before long you will see the day of your subdiaconate close at hand. You will then experience what I now experience. I long for that day with all my heart, and yet when I think of it I am afraid. I do not fear the obligations that I shall then undertake—I have hope that the Divine Grace will not be wanting to me—but I fear the love which GOD testifies towards me in

calling me near to Him. Why has He chosen me, I who am steeped in the mire of sin, and more guilty than so many others? I know I shall be surrounded with His Grace; I feel that an immense favour is about to descend upon me. I am afraid of this love which I am unable to understand. How can I love so little a GOD Who is so good?"

We understand what a pilgrimage to Lourdes must be when made with such sentiments as these. Abbé Morel wrote an account of it for himself first, and afterwards in a letter to one of his friends. Both accounts are dry, and contain but few items of information, which are of no particular interest; but there are two passages in the letter which explain to us this mysterious fact. "You wish for an account of my pilgrimage," wrote Abbé Morel. "You must know however that all pilgrimages to Lourdes resemble each other; anyone who has taken part in one knows what all the rest are like, and he who has never taken part in one will read in vain the most detailed accounts, composed with all possible talent, but will never know plainly their real nature. Because, that which is most important in a pilgrimage and most likely to last, sometimes without our suspecting it, is the impressions strongly felt deep down within the soul, impressions which may not be recorded with pen and ink, because they cannot be analysed. But as for yourself, you must know them in order to relish them." And with manifest care for exactitude he adds further on:—

"The impression which this pilgrimage has left upon me has been, I believe, more profound than vivid. What I saw did not astonish me, but I know perfectly well, particularly since my return, that the influence

of the supernatural surroundings, the manifestations of faith, the fervency of prayer, and the thought of the goodness and favours of the Blessed Virgin and of the Sacred Heart, have all deeply penetrated my whole being. I hope that the Blessed Virgin will preserve within me the remembrance of all these things. I hope to love her more each day, and with her assistance to become a little less unworthy of the priesthood. We will speak of all this again in our leisure hours and it will give us real happiness."

In October, 1893, Abbé Morel commenced his fifth year in the Seminary. The first few weeks of it were only a continual preparation for the subdiaconate. He was ordained subdeacon on the 23rd of December, 1893. The letters in which he must have recorded his impressions have not been preserved; but we can form an idea of his fervency, and complete abandonment to the Will of GOD, from these few lines which he wrote down upon the very eve of the Ordination.

"O Sacred Heart of Jesus, by the hands of Mary Immaculate, Thy Mother and mine, I dedicate to Thee my soul and body, all that I am and everything I possess. Use me according to Thy good pleasure, for Thy glory. . . . O Mary, conceived without sin, I place myself wholly and entirely into thy hands again, so that thou mayest offer me to the Sacred Heart of thy Divine Son."

If Abbé Morel did not view without consternation the approach of the hour of his subdiaconate, the days which followed the Ordination were days of transport, delight, and peace. He again applied his mind with ardour to the study of Mathematics and Theology, working strenuously, in his accustomed manner, which was

somewhat independent, and always took him beyond his proposed task and far away from the beaten track. His former professor in Philosophy wrote to tell him that they were reproaching him at Saint-Dié for his lack of tractability with regard to the employment of his time. He accused himself and humiliated himself before GOD, but he said to himself that he ought to prepare for his license, since GOD willed it and his Superior had given him leave. Indeed those around him very soon perceived that the regulations of the Seminary did not leave him enough free time, and they asked themselves whether it were not preferable to send him to *l'Institut Catholique*. M. Noël, always devoted to his kinsman, took all the necessary steps, after obtaining permission from the Superior and the Bishop, and entered our Abbé's name at the *École des Carmes*. Having been ordained deacon on the 20th of May, 1894, he prepared to set out for Paris.

The young man we saw entering the *Grand Séminaire* at Saint-Dié, in October, 1889, had now undergone a transformation; he had become a man. His mind had preserved its native qualities of scrupulous precision and ingenuity which the continual study of Mathematics had developed; but he had broadened it by applying himself to the study of Philosophy and Theology, and, after a momentary sojourn in the domain of poetry, he had regained his balance and had become fixed with the sense and the need of logical clearness. Scholasticism by its method so rigorous in appearance, and by results which express themselves in absolute formulæ, had afforded satisfaction to this need, and Abbé Morel did not believe that there was any



theological science possible outside these definite and rigid boundaries : at most he thought that to the old deductions might be added new ones, more acute in their development, and that Scholasticism might in some way be rejuvenated by establishing a better contact with Mathematics. But for him Sacred Science confined itself within the limits of his manual, some of Franzelin's books and the *Summa* of S. Thomas. He was more proficient in exegesis, thanks to the constant labour of M. Noël, but he had voluntarily limited his whole ambition with regard to hermeneutics to some rapid historical notions and a good moral commentary. The numerous courses of reading in which he had employed himself outside his fixed work, had enriched his mind without furnishing him with new points of view ; he had disciplined all his learning, making use of it to illustrate the theses of Franzelin and S. Thomas. For the rest, he thought it well to renounce for ever a more extended study of Theology ; he felt within him a vocation for Mathematics, and he was going to follow his vocation.

His heart more than his mind was enriched and expanded. As heretofore, it remained rigorously submissive to reason, which, calculating dispassionately, draws up the rule of life and imposes it.

However, for a moment it had caught sight of the land of dreams and it beat quicker for it. Then it had been flooded with the sense of GOD'S presence, of its union with GOD, and the reality of the supernatural life ; it felt the constant working of GOD, who exerted Himself even to the smallest details, and faith and hope, having definitely established themselves within him, had given birth to love.

This love outwardly expressed itself by courageous labour and by the daily sacrifices of the ascetic life. Abbé Morel was therefore already accustomed to the practice of a difficult virtue, and as his inward life was very rich, he walked with confident step and, though very young, with the calm of mature manhood. The little boy of Laveline, who, from the age of five had been captivated by the saintliness of M. L'Hommée, by means of a series of calculated and intelligent acts of will, had managed to cultivate within himself a soul of priestly qualities similar to that of his model.



### CHAPTER III.

#### ABBÉ MOREL AT THE *ÉCOLE DES CARMES* (FIRST PERIOD).

ABBÉ MOREL entered the *École des Carmes* in October, 1894. His intentions were simply to continue to live his life in Paris as at Saint-Dié, and it did not appear to him that *l'Institut Catholique* could be anything else than a continuation of the Seminary. Mathematics engaged his attention before all else ; but he had promised M. Noël "to keep watch over" Theology a little, to acquire a knowledge of the opinions of the professors "upon the controverted points with regard to the Sacraments," and particularly to make careful inquiry as to "whether they were of the same way of thinking with respect to the causality of the Sacraments as Père Billot". I do not know if Abbé Morel pushed forward this inquiry very far ; in any case we are unable to ascertain the result of it, either from his correspondence or from his notes.

Further, he had promised M. Noël to regard Paris with a certain degree of suspicion, and we observe that from the first he took up a defensive attitude. Paris is "this city which I abominate" ; no motive of curiosity prompted him to leave his cell ; he had not gone there to see the monuments but to study Mathematics. Those who were acquainted with him know how much he changed in course of time ; he understood the

artistic wealth of Paris and that nothing completes the education of the mind so well as an attentive study of its churches, museums, and palaces ; and he who had so much detested the capital, became its ardent admirer, and one who took notice of and appreciated the smallest details, and the most out-of-the-way corners.

For the time, he was entirely taken up with his studies, with a zeal for work which gained the admiration of his Superior, M. Monier. At the end of the scholastic year, in July, 1895, he was received as Licentiate in Mathematics with the mention "very good". From then onwards all those around him were struck with his aptitude for the Sciences, and suggested to him that he should continue their study, so that he might become a professor at *l'Institut Catholique*.

He himself was neither glad nor astonished ; he neither refused nor did he accept the proposal ; he put his trust in Providence : "My GOD," he wrote, "I know not what Thou desirest to make of me, I do not know what work Thou demandest from me. I accept the uncertainty in which at this moment I am placed. I firmly hope that Thou wilt reveal to me Thy Will when the time arrives." That Will manifested itself in the form of a very distinct order from M. Foucault. The bishop of Saint-Dié would not consent to transfer Abbé Morel to *l'Institut Catholique* of Paris ; he was determined to nominate him as professor in his own *Grand Séminaire* ; and, in order that he might fit himself for his duties, he demanded that he should abandon the study of Mathematics and apply himself to the study of Theology : he had forsaken Mathematics once before, in 1889 ; he now forsook them again with childlike simplicity.

It was in the course of his first year of higher studies that he became more and more permeated with the thought of Providence and within his heart developed priestly qualities. The letters which he wrote were more calm and powerful than before, and reveal an inward life of great intensity. One of his friends had returned from the barracks and was about to be ordained subdeacon. Abbé Morel wrote to him:—

“My dear friend, you are about to become subdeacon. You are at present in that state of anxious and fatiguing expectation which precedes Ordination, and with those longings mingled with fear which go before important actions in life. Well, cherish all that you feel and all that you will feel; sometimes you will be impatient, at other times afraid; you will find this state of mind painful, you will imagine that you do not, deep down in your heart, recognize GOD’S presence, nor yet the joys about which people speak so much. But still the remembrance of those various impressions will become a most sweet consolation later on; when they are somewhat worn away and you again find yourself in ordinary life, you will know of a truth that GOD was there, and when you desire to pray you will not find anything better to say than what you said then. To dedicate oneself to GOD is half the joy of Heaven: we imagine that we give ourselves to GOD, but in reality it is GOD Who gives Himself to us.”

On the very day of the Ordination, he addressed a long letter to his friend which we must quote in its entirety:—

“There is no need to tell you, my dear friend, that I share in your happiness. I have two things to regret: the first is that I shall not be present when you are in

the act of giving your entire self to the good GOD, and the second is that I do not sufficiently love GOD to be able to speak to you, as is meet, about the happiness of a soul which is consecrated to His service. You have now a soul which is burning with love ; how can one speak worthily of the GOD who fills your soul when one is overburdened with profane occupations and has not the courage to shake off the dust which clings to our actions and prevents them from shining in the sight of GOD . . . ? I rely upon your prayers, which GOD will hear with more pleasure, that He may cherish within me this supernatural life which ought completely to absorb us. When I think of GOD, too rarely, alas ! it seems as though He and I become but one, as though I am myself GOD, and that when I rejoice in GOD's happiness, I rejoice in something which concerns myself, so intimate is this union of our souls with the Spouse Divine.

“ How good GOD is, we cannot express it sufficiently, and how unworthy we are of His benefits ! Oh ! may we be His, really His. . . . Rejoice in that daily intercourse of the soul with GOD which is called the Breviary.

“ God puts into your mouth wondrous words which cause the soul to bound ; and He answers you, He tells you of His love for you, He encourages you to trust Him ; and as to yourself, you speak to Him of His glory, His greatness, and His blessings. If we truly loved GOD, what a happiness it would be to unite ourselves thus with all those who love Him, to repeat to Him how happy we are to know that He is so great and so good, and to see Him covered with so much beauty and honour : the Breviary would then be on



earth what He is in Heaven. . . . I am sending you a token of remembrance, I do not mean of your Ordination, a thing which is never to be forgotten, but of the joy which I experience in seeing you take the step which you have so long desired. This souvenir will also bring to your recollection those hours which we have spent together, amongst which the best were those in which we used to speak of GOD. I embrace you, my dear Subdeacon, at the Feet of our Lord ; there it is that our life should be spent as we wait for Heaven."

There is another letter, written a month later, which reveals his spiritual progress, and at the same time the secret of that progress: he meditated upon GOD and used self-mortification: "Let us speak of GOD, and each time we think of each other, let us think of Him at the same time and ask Him to bless us. For we wish to love each other for Him alone, so that He may love us both, and the sole care of our life ought to be that we may unite ourselves always more and more to Him, and that all our relations may tend towards this sole aim. I imagine sometimes conversations between us in which we should think of Jesus as present by our side as in reality He is. We should not content ourselves with speaking of Him and His perfection, of His love for us and of the happiness there is in serving Him, but our conversation would be between three as it were. In place of saying: Our good GOD loves us we ought to love Him also, we should say aloud: My GOD, I love Thee with all my soul, I want to be Thine entirely. We should both together give expression to the feelings and longings which we formulate within ourselves at the foot of the Tabernacle.



When we used to be with each other, it was not without effort that we made up our minds to speak of Him, we felt ourselves stirred to the depths of our whole being, in expressing aloud thoughts so intimate. . . . Moreover, we know what good those conversations did us. . . . Have you ever chanced at some time or other, in the solitude of your room, to pray aloud, not while reciting formulæ which you have learned, but when you allowed some feeling which was more living, or some more pressing desire, to escape from you at the foot of your crucifix? Nothing responded to your voice, except perhaps the sullen echo of the walls. People would have thought you beside yourself if they had heard you speak thus all alone. But you felt you were not alone; you experienced indeed a strange sound in your own voice, but you knew perfectly well that it had been heard. GOD was there.

"We must make a habit of self-sacrifice. It ought to be our daily nourishment; a nourishment which would strengthen our will, and which our love, if we have enough of it, would find of exquisite relish. We have within us our most terrible foe. We know that we must wrestle with him and must at all costs be the conquerors. We are here below for that purpose. It is for this reason in particular that the Church exhorts us to penitence during Lent. My Breviary nearly falls out of my hands when I utter prayers such as that for this evening: '*ut familia tua, quae se affligendo carnem ab alimentis abstinet, sectando justitiam a culpa jejundet*'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "That Thy family, which for the discipline of the flesh abstains from food, may in the pursuit of righteousness fast from guilt." (From the collect for the second Monday in Lent, appointed in the Roman Breviary.)—[E. J. I. D.]

What meaning is there in such prayers for one who does not fast, who does not trouble himself to do penance? others less sinful than I perform their fasts, afflict their bodies, and seek occasion for suffering; but as for me, whose mission is to address GOD in the name of all, I am as though I did not possess the Faith. Should it become my duty to say the Office in public, and before the faithful who can understand it, every minute I should encounter words which I ought not to be able to utter without feeling a blush rising up to my forehead."

Such were the sentiments with which Abbé Morel prepared himself for the priesthood. In the midst of his figures and his problems, he never lost sight of the goal whither he was tending. His friend having been ordained before him, Abbé Morel wrote to him the following lines which consist of a fervent prayer. "To be a priest! Why! even if I were innocent, even if I did not deserve all kinds of torment, I ought to suffer in order to be a priest, since Thou, O my Model, O Divine Priest, hast suffered and hast been a Man of Sorrows. . . . Thou wast both Priest and Victim. Therefore as a priest I ought also to be a victim. Since Thou hast chosen me to be Thy minister and to take Thy place here below, I ought to be like Thee. As Thou hast loved suffering, I ought to love it also, since Thy life was full of suffering, mine ought to be the same. . . . May Almighty GOD grant you tomorrow a large portion of His love for souls. May He grant you to taste every day at His Holy Altar those delights which the saints have tasted; may He give you light and power to see what is right and to follow it without fear or hesitation; may He preserve

and unceasingly render more pure and passionate those longings which you have to labour in His service. I dare not ask Him to remove from your path pain and suffering ; you love Jesus too much not to desire to be like Him even in His sorrows, and you know quite well that it is solely at that cost that we are able to win many souls for Him. . . . In conclusion, my dear friend, let me remember that when you read this letter you will be a Priest, although I shall still be a humble deacon, most unworthy of the favours which GOD has bestowed upon him, more unworthy still of those which await him very shortly ; permit me to kneel for a long while before you, place upon my head your hands so lately anointed with holy oil ; leave them there a long while, a very long while ; tell GOD that he whom you are about to bless in His name is your friend ; tell Him that you desire many gifts of grace for me ; and then, allow me to kiss respectfully those hands through which Divine Grace now passes."

In proportion to the approach of the hour of Ordination, Abbé Morel felt himself perturbed, and, like all great souls who have grasped the meaning of the high dignity which belongs to a priest, he trembled at the thought of the priesthood which was so close at hand. These fears are specially marked in a letter which he wrote to his friend on the 31st of August, 1895. "I feel so wretched that I dare not contemplate the dignity of a priest. I do not know what to ask of GOD ; I lack everything. I comprehend nothing of GOD's good-will towards me. How has it been possible for me to offend to such an extent a GOD who is so good ? if I had more faith, shame and dread

would cover my face. . . . Oh ! had I but a little faith, how I should delight in thus approaching GOD ! what emotion I should experience at the thought that in a week's time I shall hold in my trembling hands the Body and Blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ ! what generous outbursts would be mine at the thought that I shall be, not only a priest, but also a victim, and my life will then consist in a continual immolation in union with that of my Saviour."

At last the day so long desired and dreaded arrived. It was not in lyric effusions that Abbé Morel expressed his feelings, but what he experienced and what he desired he made note of in these brief words : " My Lord and my GOD, I want to be Thine entirely. Since I am a priest I must be holy, and my life must have, as its sole aim, Thy glory and the salvation of souls." And upon the evening of his first Mass he made this solemn declaration to a friend : " I want to love GOD, I will spend my life in His service". Abbé Morel kept his pledge to the letter, he did spend his life in GOD's service, and he spent it rapidly.

In obedience to the orders of the bishop of Saint-Dié, Abbé Morel returned to the *École des Carmes* in October, 1895, and applied himself to the study of Theology. It cost him much to have to leave Mathematics on one side once more, but a new feeling absorbed him : a priest ought before all else to study religious Science, and only to spend his time over profane Science in order that he may make use of it for the Faith and for his mission. He expresses this idea in remarkable terms in a letter addressed to one of his comrades. " I am thoroughly persuaded that I am about to set to work at my new studies



with a zeal and interest that I have never possessed before, even for Mathematics. Moreover, I find quite truly that my life is very incoherent, and those who see me pass on like this from one study to another with no apparent reason, must view it in the light of a caprice which is extraordinary. Among those who torment me with advice for which I do not ask them, many are not priests, and they place themselves consequently at a point of view which cannot possibly be mine. *I do not want my walk in life here below to be of such a nature that a layman could fulfil its duties*; otherwise my vocation would be inexplicable, and certainly I believe in my vocation as in my very existence. Undoubtedly, it is possible to save souls while studying Mathematics, but very indirectly; this is not my only wish. . . . God prepares various places for his priests, but it is certain that the career of a priest who is engaged in teaching the catechism to little children is far more noble than that of the greatest professors of Mathematics in the first faculty in the world."

This letter marks an important epoch in the sacerdotal training of Abbé Morel. He was not willing that his career here below should be such as a layman might pursue; he wished to be a priest in every respect, in all his thoughts, studies, and actions. This is the conception which henceforth made up the unity of his life: his occupations were to remain very different, it might appear that he dispersed his thoughts and that his life was incoherent; but the priest within him restored all the incongruous details to unity, making them of assistance in strengthening his own faith, and making clear and defending that of others.



In accordance with this he proposed to add immediately to his study of Theology that of Physics ; he prepared for his license in Theology and in Physics in the same year. But, as he explained to his kinsman, M. Noël, his object was not to collect diplomas, nor yet to acquire knowledge in order to teach it ; preparation for examinations to him was merely a means of intellectual discipline, which would compel him to work constantly and with exactitude ; it was a priestly object which he wished to attain. " What above all brings me over to this way of acting, is the fact that, by following the course of Physics, I shall know what are its theories and its hypotheses, and I shall be able to get a good idea of a crowd of questions which affect Theology. In this respect I would mention particularly the course of lectures of le Père B. who has a very good knowledge of the Sciences, and understands how to make use of them in order to throw light upon ideas of another kind."

In proportion to his progress in this double study, new points of contact revealed themselves to him. Recollections of the *Grand Séminaire* came back to his mind, and the vague ideas which used to haunt him there, he now stated definitely ; he allowed himself to indulge in metaphysical reveries upon quantity and quality, and with bold strokes he outlined a scheme for a sort of union betwixt Theology and the Sciences. This is how he wrote to one of his comrades : " Whatever my future is to be, the circumstances under which I have lived hitherto, notwithstanding the fact that Providence has disposed them for a purpose still somewhat obscure, have compelled me to perceive clearly that I ought not to leave the Sciences on one

side. However, the ideas and schemes, or rather the dreams which most often recur to my mind, are considerations which are of a half scientific and half theological nature. It seems to me that, according to the actual state of the Sciences, one should be able, by means of philosophical considerations with regard to the methods employed, as well as to the results obtained, to divert to GOD's glory the persistent efforts of the scholars, too often pagan, of our century.

“But a labour of this kind would demand, in addition to singular powers of synthesis, a thoroughly deep knowledge of the Sciences and of scientific theories, which are often ingenious and very fine, but rarely complete and definite. Then it would require a theological training composed of clear ideas, and an exact conception of the economy of Divine operations. The lucid metaphysical conceptions of the scholastics would be of marvellous utility. But let us leave the dream where it is. If I allow myself to proceed with such thoughts, it is because Père B. has asked me for a short written study for the meeting of the society of S. Thomas, in which the Sciences shall render just homage to Theology. The point to be brought out is, to show the resemblance between the method of analogy by means of which the human mind arrives at a certain knowledge of things Divine, and the processes employed in the Sciences, particularly in Physical Science.” This dissertation, more thoroughly examined and developed, became his thesis for the Doctorate in Theology.

Spurred onwards by these generous visions, Abbé Morel applied himself to the task with intemperate ardour. He worked constantly at the lectures in Theology

and Physics at *l'Institut Catholique* and at the Sorbonne, and himself declares that he had more than twenty hours of lectures every week. Being already in part a professor, he was commissioned to give a course in Mathematics to the students of Physics, and he devoted himself heart and soul to his comrades; besides this, he gave private tuition to one student, who was already very far advanced in his studies. This student propounded certain difficulties to him in connexion with the Science of Mineralogy; Abbé Morel evinced no astonishment; he knew nothing of Mineralogy, but he set himself to learn it, and, after working with his pupil for a fortnight, he was capable of solving all the difficulties which presented themselves. It must be understood that he did not neglect his study of Theology and Exegesis; one day even, being obliged to write a dissertation upon the Messiah according to Michée, he spent long hours in consulting English commentators; and after having himself described a life so extraordinarily occupied, he added, with the delightful philosophy of Vosgian moderation: "I am all the same a little played out".

That which we must most admire in this feverish existence of the young student, is the continuity and punctiliousness of the moral effort to develop within his soul the priestly qualities. Abbé Morel had begged his relative, M. Noël, to act as his spiritual director; every evening when, after a day of toil, he was oppressed with fatigue, before he went to sleep he drew up his religious bulletin, in which his smallest actions were accurately estimated and his least failings rigorously recorded. It also appears that at this time Abbé Morel was seized with a kind of spiritual

impatience : he experienced no difficulty in his studies, but in proportion as he progressed in the Christian and sacerdotal life, difficulties sprang up along his path. He allowed himself to be overcome by an inexorable anger directed against himself, and being determined to conquer himself, and to become holy by a bold stroke, he obtained possession of a scourge and an iron cincture. How he used them he has not thought fit to tell either his director or us ; but when, in one of his letters, I came across an avowal of this kind of penance, I could not help thinking of a page in the life of Pascal as related by his sister. " Upon occasions he used to take an iron cincture studded with sharp points and wear it next to the skin ; when any vain thought entered his mind, or if he felt any pleasure in the position he occupied, or anything of that sort, he used to press in his elbows so as to redouble the violence of the pricks and in that way compel himself to remember his duty. This practice appeared to him so useful that he kept it up until his death, even to the last hours of his life when he was in continual pain. We only knew of all this after his death. . . . "

And we also say to ourselves : We only knew of all this after *his* death ! Abbé Morel made no outward sign of his self mortification : cold and reserved as he ordinarily was, he shared with his friends in the pleasures and delights of college life. He took his holidays regularly, and those who have had the pleasure of joining him in his walks, have not forgotten the amusing sketches of well-known personages which he took delight in drawing, nor yet the Lorraine stories which he told with so much relish.



In the month of June, 1896, Abbé Morel obtained his degree as Licentiate in Theology *cum magna laude*;<sup>1</sup> but he was so overworked that he had to give up the examination in Physics and to take several months rest.

At this time he again found himself in a state of painful uncertainty with regard to his future, and GOD'S Will did not appear clear to him. M. Pautonnier, at the present time Director of the College Stanislas in Paris, had heard of him, and all at once intervened in his life in the name of the Society for the Promotion of Higher Studies among the Clergy. This Society, composed of University men, men of the world and priests, has the disposal of certain resources, and with a great sense of the needs of the present time, employs them to the advantage of ecclesiastics of promise, who receive a complete scientific training, and in course of time are sent back again to their original dioceses, in which they are enabled to exercise great influence. This is a genuine French tradition which comes down straight from the seventeenth century: patiently, and in voluntary semi-obscurity, this Society has trained priests of first-rate quality, and those who would write the history of religious opinions in these latter days, ought not to forget its influence.

M. Pautonnier, who at this epoch was secretary to the Society, suggested to Abbé Morel a complete change of studies: he was to apply himself to the study of *Positive Theology*,<sup>2</sup> to prepare himself in Paris

<sup>1</sup> With great merit.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say Theology studied according to the method of the positive or natural sciences, as distinct from the speculative and dogmatic methods.—[E, J, I, D.]



for as long as he wished, and afterwards to proceed to the German Universities and to Rome to complete his training. Strange to say, M. Pautonnier's proposal left Abbé Morel rather indifferent: he again saw himself invited to change his course! he had proceeded from the study of Mathematics to that of Scholastic Theology, and now here again they wanted him to apply himself to the study of the history of Dogma. Scholasticism was agreeable to him, it satisfied his need of rigidity and clearness, and he had his doubts with regard to the uncertainties and the obscure light of History. With what delight he would have set out for Saint-Dié, where they appeared to be ready to entrust him with the chair of Scholastic Philosophy in the *Grand Séminaire*; but new difficulties arose at the last moment, and in the month of October, 1896, after several months vacation spent in Germany, he had to re-enter the *École des Carmes*, without knowing to what he should apply himself. A letter which he wrote on the 12th of November, 1896, to the Abbé Noël, his kinsman and director, provides us with an insight into his inquietudes, and, in the midst of difficulties, his feelings of trust in Providence.

“ I do not think I have ever seen anything parallel to this. The theological professors think indeed that I am going to be a very assiduous pupil and solely taken up with their courses of lectures and my thesis; on the other hand M. Monier thoroughly believes that my chief occupation is going to be to prepare myself for a study of the Fathers, and being a scholar he is altogether delighted at it. Added to this the mathematical professors strongly advise me to follow certain lectures at the Sorbonne! . . . To be sure I am not

very enthusiastic over M. Pautonnier's scheme, and if Monseigneur refuses his consent I shall not be in the least unhappy. M. Pautonnier thinks that because I am a mathematician he will find in me a positive mind, with an inclination to admit nothing as historical except after the most severe and carping criticism. But there is no mind which is more *à priori* than that of a mathematician, who, when he has started off with a principle, proceeds from deduction to deduction without allowing himself to be detained by the best arguments. . . . I do not want to ask for anything, for fear of not doing that which GOD wills."

M. Pautonnier saw the matter rightly, and it was Abbé Morel who was mistaken as to his own ability. He possessed a very acute and critical mind, and his multifarious studies, while daily opening his mind to every issue, were making of him a historian whom it would be difficult to deceive. The scholarship was assigned to him. Being freed from the necessity of preparing for his examination—he had just received his degree as Licentiate in Physical Science in November, 1896—he drew up for himself a huge programme of study. He must prepare his thesis for the Doctorate in Theology; and this is how he himself describes the supplementary studies which he would add to this chief work: "I shall follow the courses in Theology, Holy Scripture, Ecclesiastical History, and Hebrew so as to satisfy my professors; in other respects I shall apply myself to the correction of Greek themes, the explanation of Greek authors, a lecture in German, the courses in Modern Philosophy and the History of Philosophy by the Abbé Piat. I attend regularly the course in Astronomical Mechanics at the Sorbonne."

This same fever for work which possessed him is always noticeable. A new motive for devoting himself entirely to study now entered within him. Being a true Vosgian, in holding other men in respect, particularly those who have departed this life, he was seized with deep admiration for Mgr. d'Hulst, who had gone to his rest, while still young and in full vigour; and ever afterwards he was haunted with the memory of this good priest who died at his post. "I have heard of the death of Mgr. d'Hulst," he wrote to his relative M. Noël. "I have been strongly impressed by it. I saw the body upon his bed, in the study where I was received this time last year. . . . M. Monier relates that the Rector often used to ask him his opinion as to his lectures at Notre-Dame; the Superior was wont to tell him to put more heart and imagination into them. One day he congratulated him on account of a fine passage which occurred in the middle of his address. 'Was that all right?' asked Mgr. d'Hulst. 'Yes,' he answered. 'Ah, well,' he rejoined, 'I wrote that passage yesterday evening to please you. I was really ashamed of it, and I said to myself, is it necessary to insult one's congregation by speaking to it in such a manner?' . . . He was truly the most intelligent man I ever came across." A few days afterwards, when writing to one of his comrades, he added, "I want to work hard all my life; I would far rather die young like Mgr. d'Hulst, after having used all my powers in GOD'S service, than husband my strength too much."

He did not spare himself. After a few months of solid work, his thesis was completed. The time has

now come when we must speak about it with some degree of fullness.

The thesis perhaps is mediocre, but the man who wrote it was not mediocre. For Morel it is somewhat tame, but yet it is fully Morel: it is entitled *L'évolution des théories physiques et l'évolution des dogmes*.<sup>1</sup> It is a pamphlet of a hundred pages, reproducing in facsimile his own handwriting. The fundamental idea is that an analogy exists between these two evolutions. This analogy is developed in four divisions.

1. Natural Science sets out with fragmentary observations such as, "Heat expands metals." In like manner Christian doctrine has for its point of departure isolated propositions, scattered within the pages of Holy Scripture or handed down by Tradition.

2. The first labour of co-ordination has produced on the one side theories which are purely physical, in which Mathematics either do not come into consideration or only slightly so, such as the geometrical theory of crystallization; on the other side it has produced Patristic Theology.

3. Next, Science has become a wide system, in which suitable deduction renders induction fertile; of such a nature is Astronomical Mechanics; Scholastic Theology has the same characteristics as Mathematical Physics.

4. In particular, the part played by Mathematics in Physical Science is comparable to the part played by Philosophy in Theology.

The two operations of the mind, whether of the natural philosopher or of the theologian have the same

<sup>1</sup> "The Evolution of Physical Theories and the Evolution of Dogmatics."—[E. J. I. D.]

way of procedure, and Theology is not a monster in the history of modern thought.

However, Morel is not the dupe of analogies. Each is rectified by contrast. Thus Revelation is a finished matter and discoveries are growing; a theory may fail, a dogma is immutable; as far as the point of departure is concerned which in Physical Science is a hypothesis often unverifiable, in Theology it is the Word of GOD itself.

Sacred Science has therefore its originality: it has even a superiority; one may almost add that all which is not Theology is a handmaid of Theology (*ancilla theologiæ*).

The arguments with which this thesis is supported are to-day of no further interest. What is interesting is the question proposed, and the point of view chosen. Abbé Morel's standpoint is even more instructive if we consider its date.

We are now concerned with the year 1896. Abbé Morel had followed the course of lectures by the Rector, Père de la Barre, at the *Institut*. But he was not the man to have only one master. Above all he acquired knowledge outside the lecture rooms. Now in 1896, there were three tendencies in the air.

Amongst philosophers, they were beginning to speak of the criticism of the Sciences. M. Duhem wrote an article in the *Revue des questions scientifiques* of Brussels, upon the *Évolution des théories physiques, du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*,<sup>1</sup> which Abbé Morel quotes and which certainly inspired him greatly. M. Poincaré had published a few of his articles, but Abbé Morel

<sup>1</sup> "The evolution of Physical Theories from the Seventeenth Century up to the Present Day.—[E. J. I. D.]



does not mention them, and he does not appear to have given them any consideration. But M. Le Roy did not produce his great study upon *Science et Philosophie* in the *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*<sup>1</sup> until 1899. The criticism of the Sciences had not yet therefore made the stir which it was destined to make four or five years later. So far then Abbé Morel, as modestly as we could wish, is a precursor.

Amongst exegetists and historians, they were beginning to speak of the development of dogmatics, and to put questions of exegesis in a new way. It is true that they published little.<sup>2</sup> Père de la Barre discussed only the outside aspect of the problem. Auguste Sabatier, a protestant, was the one who undertook to treat the subject from the foundation and his *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion fondée sur la psychologie et l'histoire*<sup>3</sup> was much in circulation in ecclesiastical circles. The Abbé Loisy, a former professor at the *Institut*, indicated his views upon the question; his disciples developed these by the fireside and seminarians spoke of them in times of recreation. Abbé Morel did not ignore this movement, but there again he was one of the first to divine its importance.

Amongst apologists concord had been definitely abandoned. But the question concerning Science and the Faith had been resumed, thanks to the psychologists. Blondel, Laberthonnière, Fonsegrive and their followers inaugurated an interior apologetic. Accord-

<sup>1</sup> "Science and Philosophy." In the "Metaphysical and Moral Review".—[E. J. I. D.]

<sup>2</sup> We ought, however, to point out to our readers the famous article by Mgr. d'Hulst.

<sup>3</sup> "An Outline of a Philosophy of Religion founded upon Psychology and History."—[E. J. I. D.]

ing to them, we conceive that even if Science and Faith cannot be in accord with regard to their object, because they possess no common object, at least they can be in accord as to their method, if it is true that there exists in Christian thought, extended and sharpened, the best discipline of profane thought. In place of agreement with regard to fact there is a psychological agreement. M. Le Roy will still remain its chief interpreter. But Abbé Morel anticipated this some years before, however modest his attempt may have been.

We see how Morel borrowed from his surroundings. But his originality consisted in his ability to class together three tendencies, in each of which the most distinguished were wont to specialize. If he did not solve the problem, he stated it in all its completeness. This completeness preserved him from exaggerations and injustice. Whereas so many critics, historians, and psychologists lose their temper and condemn each other, he assimilated their three methods and corrected them each by the others. By force of learning he attained balance. Morel's whole thought was well proportioned. At the same time the secret of so much profane study is revealed. Whether it were in Mathematics, Physics, Aristotle, or Greek, he wished to allow nothing to be lost which would serve to the glory of GOD, and that which the student had scattered upon the pages of his lecture books, the priest gathered up in a few pages of apologetics. Perhaps they are mediocre: all the same they mark a cross-road of his mind.

This thesis of Abbé Morel's was accepted by the professors at *l'Institut Catholique* and gained its author his degree of Doctor of Theology. But the sustaining

of the thesis was postponed until the following year : one of Abbé Morel's masters thought he had discovered in it a few erroneous propositions ; finally, after sundry very frank explanations on both sides, that difficulty was easily removed.

Abbé Morel quitted *Les Carmes* after a year so fully occupied, and went to spend the vacation in Germany at the Presbytery in Oberbachem,<sup>1</sup> where he definitely learned the German language.

<sup>1</sup> A small town in Bavaria near Munich.

## CHAPTER IV.

### L'ABBÉ MOREL AT THE *ÉCOLE DES CARMES* (SECOND PERIOD).

THE scholastic year of 1897-98 was one of the most important in Abbé Morel's training: it marks the beginning within him, of an intellectual transformation which was completed towards the year 1900. Certain points of view which he had brought with him from the *Grand Séminaire* were laid aside and replaced by others which were more modern. He entered boldly into that conflict of opinions in which all the young priests of that time found themselves, and wherein some of them suffered. Abbé Morel did not suffer, because his intellectual evolution was conditioned and overruled by a moral evolution. In proportion as, together with the love of GOD, there increased within him the desire to help the men of his day, he compelled his mind, with a priestly sense of duty, to study the men of the time, to get to the root of their doctrines, to understand them, and if necessary, resolutely to put himself upon their own ground so that he might meet them and give them a fair hearing. This scholar of the study, who barely a few months before had dreamed of equipping himself with mathematical or theological *à priori* constructions, suddenly emerged from the abstract and from apostolic necessity applied himself to concrete and living realities. He changed

his opinion of himself, and he marvelled at the goodness of Providence in placing in his path M. Pautonnier, who had revealed to him his true vocation, and that, in spite of himself.

Some of Abbé Morel's companions, who underwent the same crisis as he did, went perhaps to extremes rather quickly, and I will not say that he himself always kept clear of excess; but this cautious Vosgian advanced but slowly along this new ground which he felt to be unstable and dangerous; and this Priest who was so full of virtue, humbled himself before GOD and asked for His Light, and the more that difficulties appeared to him in his work, the more he mortified his body so that he might not be abandoned by grace. I shall quote the letters he wrote at this period and thus allow him himself to expose to view his intellectual evolution.

Upon again entering the *École des Carmes* in October, 1897, he fully made up his mind to give himself up to the study of Positive Theology. But in order to study the Fathers it was necessary to know Greek and Latin and to have a knowledge of the ancient Philosophy by which they are often inspired. Abbé Morel, who was a man of method and proceeded slowly and surely, accordingly began by completing his training as humanist and philosopher in reading for a degree in philosophical literature. On the 10th of November, he wrote to one of his friends, "After two years of Theology I descend again to matters profane, and I am minded to acquire a little knowledge of Philosophy. I notice that theologians and Christian philosophers do not know enough to contend profitably with the doctrines, more or less fantastical



or dangerous, which are current throughout the world to-day. That is why I intend to put myself a little into the stream of that which is said and takes place in other circles than our own. It would be a long business to tell you all the reasons which have led me to this decision. However, you will know as much as I do if, to sum up all, I tell you quite simply that, as usual, I am allowing things to go their own little way, relying upon Providence to place me sooner or later in the position which I must definitely occupy in the world here below and also in the next."

He was more explicit with M. Noël: "I must search thoroughly the ancient philosophies, a knowledge of which is absolutely indispensable for a study of the Fathers, particularly the Greek Fathers, among whom a multitude of expressions bear a meaning borrowed from the Platonic or Stoic systems. Besides, a knowledge of the different streams of thought which to-day entice philosophers to distances more or less removed from the truth, should put one in a position to do good which otherwise would be impossible."

The study of the history of Philosophy under the direction of the Abbé Piat exercised great influence upon Abbé Morel and contributed much to the opening of his mind. He felt that he had entered into a new world, and he was altogether delighted with the discoveries which he was making each day. On the 28th of November, 1897, he wrote to one of his friends. "It would be difficult for you to picture to yourself the extent to which my time is taken up; Latin, Greek, Literature, and Philosophy vie with each other for the possession of a portion of it, the lectures and my duties snatch but the smallest fragments. But I

love the life. In the first place I am conscious of my work, and it is indeed a source of satisfaction to feel within oneself this continual activity, the acquired speed of which carries one on in spite of oneself. And then it is a pleasure to find oneself in perpetual contact with excellent professors, splendid books, and the best intellects of our own days and those of every age. Why is it that the clergy at this period ignore everything that is said outside the traditional circle? It is said indeed that this circle is ever contracting, they are so afraid of soiling their ears by contact with the doctrines of adversaries, who thus have a good chance of success."

The evolution of his mind is evident in this letter; and, as I have pointed out before, Abbé Morel kept his sacerdotal life on a level with the intellectual. For proof of this I want nothing better than the following letter, so grave and humble, written by him to one of his friends on the 5th January, 1898.

"To act rightly and to do good, that should be our whole life. We belong to GOD alone, and we ought to spend in His service all that we have and all that we are. This should fill our heart and mind. All that I know only too well; and in being so lazy and feeble I am all the more blameworthy because I know my duty better. I wonder at times at the goodness of Providence, which not only has led me to the priesthood but takes care to direct my studies. I am convinced that all that has happened hitherto must be directed towards some hidden goal which I shall one day reach. . . . I am waiting to receive from Almighty GOD the means of being useful to the Church, I wish to employ my life in labours profitable to His Church,

and yet there is not a single day which I spend as GOD demands of me. Is it not perfectly foolish to offer my life to GOD *en bloc* and to refuse it in detail? to await from Him the means of doing good later on, and yet to neglect opportunities now of pleasing Him. Yet this is how the years roll by . . . it is sad to feel that one is created to love GOD and to be sacrificed to Him, and at the same time to see oneself held down to earth by selfish preoccupations and continual cowardice! GOD is so worthy to be loved; so deserving that we should sacrifice all for Him. What unhappiness it is not to love Him and to be ignorant of the delights of sacrifice. . . . For you as well as for myself I repeat: *adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua*<sup>1</sup>. . . . Let us forsake all; let us trust in Providence and fulfil to the best of our ability the duty of the moment, giving to GOD to the very uttermost of our power."

Thrown by Philosophy into contemporaneous lines of thought, Abbé Morel was moreover led to the same point by the conferences upon social and religious studies which he attended at the *École des Carmes*. He tells us himself that these conferences made a deep impression upon him. He was at a critical time: his restless mind was seeking for new paths, and by very reason of this tension the least words which reached him from without, awakened prolonged echoes within him. Just as he had concluded on the necessity of an intellectual reform, he now went on to affirm the need of reform with regard to the education of the clergy and their manner of action. I shall quote from three letters in which he exhibits this new point of view;

<sup>1</sup> "Thy Kingdom come, Thy Will be done."

we shall there see with what prudence Abbé Morel proceeded and how careful he was, in proportion as he advanced, to increase within himself his love for GOD.

On the 9th of January, 1898, he wrote: "Our new Superior, the Abbé Guibert, keeps us well posted up in current ideas and literary works, and every Wednesday he gets a lecturer, clerical or lay, to come and speak to us upon the special subject of his own study or labour. Up to the present we have had priests chiefly, namely, l'Abbé Pautonnier, l'Abbé Batiffol, a remarkable historian, l'Abbé Wehrlé, and le Père de la Barre. The Abbé Wehrlé is an old pupil of the *École Normal*, and consequently has seen the university professors at close quarters; and having now become the Vicar of Saint-Jacques du Haut-Pas, he gives lectures to an audience of *Intellectuals* and succeeds in affording them much benefit. You would not believe how much one gains from hearing men speak in this way, men who have devoted their lives to this or that one particular work and who are able to give an account of the work which remains to be done. It is good to learn that, by the side of those who are apathetic and conservative beyond measure, there are active people whose minds are a little broader, and who are capable of spending their lives in restoring to Catholicism the glory which it has lost . . . which it has lost through the fault of the clergy, M. Bureau told us. And M. Bureau bases his statements upon a careful observation of facts, after the method of Le Play of whom he is an enthusiastic disciple. His conclusion is that every Catholic, and especially every priest, ought to develop all his powers in such a way as to become a person-



ality. Modern society differs from the ancient regime in that it is based upon a more complete development of the individual. It is necessary therefore that each should be of value in himself. M. Bureau sits in severe judgment upon preachers and not without reason. In Paris, they preach in defiance of good sense. Everywhere, in Politics as in Science, in Theology as in History, among scholars as in urban or rural parishes, reform is urgently needed in the action of the priests. It is enough merely to open one's eyes in order to see it; this reform must be conducted in the same way everywhere: above all it must emanate from the Sacristy. These are the ideas which I observe are fermenting more and more among the young. Men are anxious to work, they feel that it is necessary to manifest the vitality of the Church everywhere." The reader recognizes here that effervescence which towards the beginning of the year 1897 took possession of all the young clergy in France. Abbé Morel did not escape the influence of the time.

Some days afterwards he wrote to his relative, M. Noël, in almost identical terms: "I have told you already that every Wednesday M. Guibert makes arrangements with a lecturer, priest or layman, to come and talk to us about the great questions of the day. . . . The conclusion which follows from all these interesting conferences is that there remains a huge amount to be done and that each of us ought to exert all his energy towards a resuscitation of Catholicism in modern society. The clergy have kept aloof too much from what is thought and said outside their own circle. They no longer even know the objections which are made to religion; they do not know the



state of contemporary thought. And before one can speak or act, it is needful to understand thoroughly those with whom one has to deal."

Again, on the 22nd of February, 1898, he wrote to another friend :—"Recently we heard a lecture by the editor-in-chief of a review which is published by young men, and named *Le Sillon*. The history of this review is very interesting. It was founded by five young men, upon their exit from the College Stanislas, with the object of keeping up their union with each other. The five have increased in number to forty or so, and the review, which is edited entirely by young people, contains exceedingly good articles. I was reading one of them the other day beneath the galleries of the Odéon, and I discovered some excellent ideas in it, somewhat optimistic as becomes young people. The author, who is no other than our lecturer, Paul Renaudin, made some observations upon the progress which Catholics are making on three different grounds, namely Politics, Social Subjects, and those relating to Science. True, matters are proceeding better than they were some years ago, but there still remains much to be done.

"These young people of *Le Sillon*, like many other Catholics, would wish to see a more intimate union between the clergy and the laity. They do not know each other; they mistrust each other, and much good that might be done is not accomplished.

"Renaudin in a pleasant manner and not without reason, ridicules the 'Bottle system' employed in the education of the clergy. A very opaque bottle is selected; within it the future priests are placed, and it is then hermetically sealed: they may breathe as they

may! Certainly the priest does not sufficiently understand the world in the midst of which he has to exercise his apostleship; if he mixed with the laity, in a short time he would learn a great deal. Here again, in the matter of the education of the clergy a just mean remains to be discovered.

"We have been too conservative; we are not obliged to be too liberal. Everywhere it is the same evolution which is taking place: in a society which is democratic, the individual ought to possess more initiative. This is a conception which is dear to M. Fonsegrive; without having given it my own consideration, owing to lack of time for reflection and observation, I believe it is sound.

"The conclusion of all this is always the same: what we have got to do is to work and to develop within us all the gifts of nature and grace, so as to make them produce the most fruit possible for the welfare of souls. If we should die ten or twenty years earlier from too much hard work, our lives will have been none the less useful. I respect and I envy men like Mgr. d'Hulst who drop down exhausted before they are old. Since like His Master the priest is a victim, there is nothing better for him than to make of his life and powers a gradual sacrifice to Almighty GOD. It matters little whether it is of short or long duration; what does matter is that it be a real sacrifice and a hard one. . . . I fall upon my knees before finishing my letter to pray that Jesus may keep us both together quite close to Him, at the foot of the Cross upon which He suffered so much for us and for those whom it is our duty to lead to Him. Jesu, my Lord, unite us to Thee, unite us in Thee, so

that we may help each other to labour and to suffer without growing weary, with Thee and for Thee."

Abbé Morel was fully conscious of the work which had been accomplished in him, on the day upon which he had to sustain his thesis for the doctor's degree. When he wanted to read it through again so that he might prepare to sustain it he fancied he was dreaming: he no longer thought a single word of all he had written the year before, or rather this hasty generalization concerning Theology and the Sciences appeared to him to be empty and of no import. He made the discovery—as he told me himself one day afterwards—that the synthesis had no meaning except for one who was in possession of all the facts of which it is the sum, and who knows that there are facts which do not enter into the general formula. His intellectual change, the depth of which at this moment he was in course of ascertaining, he attributed partly to Philosophy, partly to the Wednesday conferences, and partly to the desire for religious renewal in all its forms which at that time haunted the best minds. "We had got," he said, "to the point of believing that we could refute philosophical systems in a three-lined syllogism; meanwhile these systems are being spread abroad even among Catholics, and to such an extent that the clergy and instructed lay people, accustomed to speak in different languages, end in no longer understanding each other. We must study more the ideas of those with whom we have to do; they will not study our Scholasticism; let us therefore study their Philosophy. Here again we must board the train in order to direct it."

But this priest, who was so humble and so well

informed, felt all the difficulties of such an undertaking; and instead of embarking like other people with generous indiscretion upon every novelty, he reflected and held himself in reserve, and he never meditated without trembling upon this perilous task, which he named *L'adaptation de la religion traditionnelle à l'état d'esprit contemporain*.<sup>1</sup> "I have not reached," he wrote to a friend, "the point of effectually convincing myself of the necessity of being a Saint, in order to have a right to expect GOD'S grace and to work profitably for the good of men's souls. I see more and more every day, what a huge and difficult task Catholic scholars have to accomplish to-day. It is not only a laborious undertaking, it is even dangerous. To-day we find ourselves face to face with every kind of scepticism and negation. There are the most varying shades of thought even amongst Catholics. What can we do in order not to repel by too many demands, any good-will, nor, by too much complacency, to yield any portion of the Faith? Those who to-day are occupied with the study of Theology, Exegesis, and Philosophy have great need of GOD'S guidance. And if ever I am placed among them I earnestly desire that GOD will watch over me and inspire all my thoughts. I want to possess a more and more intimate union with Him, so that I may be a ready instrument in His hands. . . . Pray for me; let us both pray for each other, that GOD may make use of us for good, and that, without using our powers sparingly, we may be ready instruments in His hands for work and for suffering. To this end it was that

<sup>1</sup> "The adaptation of traditional religion to the condition of contemporary thought!"—[E. J. I. D.]



we offered ourselves to Him and that we will offer ourselves again.

"What joy it will be if at the hour of death we are able to say to Him that all our powers were used in His service."

After spending his vacation in England, Abbé Morel went back again to the *École des Carmes* in October, 1898. Having taken his degree of Bachelor of Philosophy after the November examination, he felt that he was released from his studies as pupil, and entered heart and soul upon the personal study for which the Society for the Promotion of Studies had prepared him—that is to say Positive Theology. It is worthy of notice that he entered upon it by going into retreat, so conscious was he of the serious nature of his decision and of the need that we have of GOD'S help if we want to do useful work for the Church.

We must quote the whole of a letter which he wrote about the matter to his Director, the Abbé Noël: it comprises both a programme and a method.

"I feel that we must know how to restrain ourselves, if we wish to attain any result. Not only would I refrain from reading all the publications more or less interesting which may fall into my hands, but I believe that the best way of employing my time is to apply myself as soon as possible to some definite work. And after all, why not Philo.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing better for placing me under the obligation of seriously studying the point of contact between Greek Philosophy and Christianity. There is difficulty enough in writing

<sup>1</sup> The Abbé Piat, who much appreciated the philosophical mind of Abbé Morel, had asked him to write a study of Philo for the well-known collection: *Les Grandes Philosophes*.



theses at the Sorbonne: if I decide to write one, it will be necessary, thoroughly and carefully to examine the sufficiently numerous questions upon which I ought to touch. So long as it is meet that I should occupy myself for the most part with Positive Theology, I shall have less incentive for the work and shall not acquire the right way of working, and the desired result will not be attained. Are you not of the same opinion? it is certainly in accordance with the opinion of M. Monier. I am going to think somewhat seriously about the matter. If I can quickly get through the lectures which are indispensable, I shall spend three or four days in making good the retreat which I did not get at the beginning of the year. The decision to be made may have its importance for the future. And again it is not without a certain uneasiness that I undertake the study of such difficult questions as those which belong to the history of Dogma. The point is to observe the just mean between solutions which are too conservative and those which are too liberal; but how is one to recognize this just mean? I believe that Providence has brought me to the position in which I stand; before undertaking anything further I would ask aid and counsel, so that my life may be as useful as possible to the Church. I must become better than I am in order to have the right to expect of GOD all the succour of which I stand in need. Happily GOD directs all to put their trust in Him. Happily also, you have obtained for me the help of our Lady of Lourdes."

And under the patronage of our Lady of Lourdes, whom his kinsman had taught him to invoke, Abbé Morel applied himself quietly to the study of Positive

Theology and of Philo of Alexandria. Among the writings of this Jew who is half Greek, he searched for the fusion of ancient Jewish tradition with Greek Philosophy, and, in that synthesis, for the elements, which in their turn have had more or less influence upon Christian Theology. He had hoped that this investigation of Philo would place him in a position to commence a study of the early Fathers with an accurate knowledge of the state of mind of those amongst whom they must have lived. Unfortunately the subject matter of this thesis was already bespoken at the Sorbonne, so Abbé Morel was forced to abandon it; he contented himself for the moment with devoting his time to "some studies of approach" which should put him in a better position to understand patristic doctrine. This study overwhelmed him with joy; he who had loved Mathematics so well and still amused himself at times with following out the solution of some obscure problem in Astronomical Mechanics, now found new relish in the perusal of the Fathers: "There is here," he said, "further food for the priest, a means of nourishment which Scholasticism has caused to be somewhat forgotten."

This study was pursued methodically without Abbé Morel having managed to receive as yet any hint as to the task for which he was destined. However, he did not suffer under this uncertainty, relying upon the fact that Providence was watching over him.

One of his friends who was just as uncertain as he was, having confided to him his own perplexity, Abbé Morel wrote a long letter to him which I must quote entirely. It reveals his depth of soul and shows us that this intellectual evolution, which had set in more

than a year before, continued slowly but without any cessation.

“My very dear friend,—Your excellent letter bears testimony to a friendship and confidence of which I do not feel worthy. However I am in a better position than others to understand the pain which you experience in still being ignorant of the direction which Providence wills your life to take. If my occupations are not so varied as yours, my studies form at least an incoherent whole, an explanation of which, more than one of those around me seeks in vain. How much I would give to know the explanation of it all myself! I know how I was led to take up Theology after Mathematics, Modern Philosophy after Theology, then German, English, and Greek, but I am far from knowing whither this must lead me. Is it presumption to believe that Providence has prepared this strange combination of affairs for some purpose known to GOD only, and that men attempt in vain to divine it? I might have a right to such hope if I could testify to having always possessed pure intentions, and, in the course of my examination never to have sought anything else than GOD’S Holy Will. But I am far from having nothing with which to reproach myself. Still, what would become of me if I did not believe that Almighty GOD takes care of me, and in spite of all my wretchedness concerns Himself with my studies more than with the feeding of the birds of the air? If I have no right to hope, I am bound to do so nevertheless. . . .

“Lacordaire says somewhere that at a particular moment in his life he saw, on looking back, that it was to that point, undoubtedly, that all the avenues of his past

were directed. We are not Lacordaires you and I, but each of us knows that GOD concerns Himself with the small as with the great, and Providence takes equal care of all the world's details. We have our little part to play here below! GOD prepares us for it, only demanding from us docility and confidence. A little patience and we shall understand. GOD has often singularly astonishing ways in His preparation of priestly vocations. Do you imagine that once made priests He takes less care in preparing our place for us, and in preparing us for our place? The all-important thing is that we should leave the matter in His hands . . . *fabri polita malleo, hanc saxa molem construunt, aptisque juncta nexibus*, LOCANTUR. . . .<sup>1</sup>

"I appear to be preaching to you. Forgive me; but it is not to you that I deliver this sermon, it is to myself.

". . . You ask me to tell you a good manual of Theology. Do you know that that is very embarrassing, and that although every one is pretty well agreed in speaking ill of existing works, yet no one is capable of writing anything much better? All manuals are pretty much of the same value. They speak highly of the one by M. Tanqueray, a native of Normandy, and follower of the method of S. Sulpice, who died in America. But you may have special need of a book on Ethics, and there one can only quote Lehmkuhl, Gury, Marc, and Mgr. d'Hulst. I am convinced that at present theological studies are in a period of transition, whence

<sup>1</sup> The modern Latin form of the stanza:—

Many a *blow* and *biting* sculpture  
Polished well those stones elect,  
In their *places* now *compacted*  
By the heavenly *Architect*.—[E. J. I. D.]

they will only emerge when from top to bottom, and with the greatest care, we resume the study of the whole of tradition. Protestants have done a considerable amount of work in that direction, which must be taken into account, and the criticism of which undeniably demands fresh study, conducted with the help of the most modern methods. It is only after a vast undertaking such as this that new manuals of Theology can be drawn up with any likelihood of permanency.

" . . . The future is in GOD'S hands, said Victor Hugo. Let us, both by uniting ourselves together in prayer, endeavour to prepare ourselves for a future which shall be indeed for GOD, when we shall be instruments in His hands, both tractable and generous, ready to please Him at all costs, and always united in Him by a supernatural and truly priestly friendship."

In June, 1899, Abbé Morel had the great grief of losing his father. This courageous and straightforward Christian, who had given his son to the Church with so much sincerity, was enabled before his death to experience the joy of seeing how worthy his child had become, both of his race, of the little homeland, and of the Church. He breathed his last quite peacefully, in noblest profession of the faith. Abbé Morel spoke little about it to his friends. This discreet and melancholy Vosgian shut his grief up within himself, and was reluctant to exhibit his inmost feelings. After a few days spent with the family, he set out on a voyage to Germany and England of which I shall speak in another chapter.

He brought with him into the heart of Westphalia his intellectual prepossessions, which were then those of every one, and besides these the letters he received



from his friends recalled conversations at the *École des Carmes* or wafted to him the echo of religious discussions of which the reviews were full. One of his friends, of distinguished and courageous intellect, who about this time stepped into the life of Abbé Morel, wrote to him a letter, which provides us with an opportunity of knowing something of their common sources of unrest and throws light upon our Abbé's reply. I will quote several passages, although they contain certain problems which are of a delicate nature to touch upon; but the facts here related are already within the domain of history, and Abbé Morel's friends have a right to know and to understand all that he has left behind him. This friend then, with his mind full of prepossessions, had been to see a scholastic theologian, and was impressed with "the uncertainty and obscurity of his thought, and with the irreducibility of his mind with regard to every conception and method that is really historical". The friend adds: "I have twice been to see M. Loisy since your departure from Paris. He received me most amiably, and each time I remained with him more than two hours. All that he told me has interested me enormously; but still the audacity of his ideas terrifies me. It is necessary to enter thoroughly into his way of thinking in order to understand how his ideas can be reconciled, if not with Theology, at least with dogmatic definitions, upon the character of which, however, he has somewhat peculiar notions, of which a scholastic theologian would certainly not approve, but which are quite in accordance with the logical conception which, after the style of Newman, he has constructed with respect to the Faith, Religion, and Dogma. A great deal is

to be gained by associating with a mind such as his, without necessarily being willing to follow him in everything, because he puts his finger upon the insufficiency of many theories and upon the obscure nature of many theological ideas which are commonly admitted ; and further he shows the importance of those problems which present themselves to-day from the fact of the development of historical criticism and Psychology—problems which will certainly not be solved by Scholasticism, and of which alone a study of religious life—of what is essential to it or merely contingent—its permanent necessities and transient needs, can alone provide the solution. If, as I hope, you return to Paris next year, we shall again have an opportunity of talking together about all these serious problems, which have only been revealed to me in their true character and in all their acuteness, during the course of the present year. . . .

“ In the meantime, during vacation, I am going to make a little preparation for my next year’s catechism. I have to speak to my young people about Jesus Christ. This study will not put me out of reach therefore, of the great problems about which I have conversed with M. Loisy, since it is precisely the Gospel and the theology of the New Testament which raise the most delicate questions, those concerning which traditional theology would be in least agreement with the critics. I shall endeavour to keep clear of all these delicate questions, by not doing anything of a metaphysical nature, and by attempting to give to my young people an impression of the reality, both human and Divine, of the person of Jesus Christ.”

Here is Abbé Morel’s reply ; it is most animated,

and shows that in his intellectual evolution he had reached a decisive point. There is even something of the nature of impatience in its tone, and I know not what absence of balance and shade, which in him is not habitual.

"When you tell me that you have only this year grasped the importance of the theological and historical questions which are being raised nowadays, you reveal an impression which is absolutely the same as my own. To-day I am far from those simple ideas which I had at the time of writing that fanciful dissertation for my doctor's degree, not to go still further back. At times I feel a grudge against those professors who, in the midst of the turmoil of opinions which are being put forward to-day, find means, in a faculty and in Paris, of allowing their pupils to be ignorant of everything which does not enter into the narrow limits which they have mapped out for themselves. They are to be excused, however, because they have not the eyes to see it.

"Unfortunately, their pupils when they leave the University are in no degree prepared for a life in the times in which we live; they must have something different; one does not yet know exactly what. I am rather afraid of the idea which I have myself of working for this new adaptation of Theology. I do not feel that I am the sort of man to bring anything that would be of much use to the huge edifice to be built. All the more reason for working my best. If Providence directs you to this side also, the similar nature of the paths that we have traversed will be an additional reason for each of us to interest himself in what the other does. It will also be a further

reason why we should pray for each other. We can only do really useful work for Religion if we labour, to the best of our ability, to be worthy instruments of Providence in the government of the world; and in order that we may be what we ought to be as well as do what we ought to do, GOD'S aid is necessary. It is understood therefore that we ask for the Grace of GOD, each for the other."

In October, 1899, Abbé Morel returned for the last time to the *École des Carmes*. It was his sixth scholastic year which he then commenced. He shows us himself how it was employed: "A thesis for the doctor's degree in Literature upon the Philosophy of Origen; two lectures a week in religious instruction at the College of Sainte-Barbe; a small course of Mathematics at Stanislas; studies in Greek Philosophy and Biblical questions". The course of religious instruction at Sainte-Barbe gave him an opportunity of putting before very young people the problem of the Divinity of Jesus Christ as stated by modern criticism. It was the question which haunted all minds, and Abbé Morel, treating it loyally and fully, had the joy of finding that the young rhetoricians were keenly interested in this new form of religious instruction. In the course of this instruction, and in his lectures and travels, his own thought strengthened: he began to be more himself. I find proof of this in a most brilliant letter which on the 17th of January, 1900, he wrote to one of his friends who had consulted him as to the utility of classical study: "When you want to form an opinion upon the importance of a classical training," said he, "travel a bit among the Germans or the Anglo-Saxons, over whom we boast of so much superiority. You will dis-



cover how France, not merely by reason of her ancient military glories, but above all by her literature, and her arts, has preserved abroad a prestige which is incomparable. . . . I am persuaded that the question of the Classics has its importance in that matter. Thanks to her language derived from the Latin, to her classical masterpieces which even Italy does not possess, France is not only the senior daughter of the Church, but she is also the senior daughter of Roman glory, the heiress in chief of Greece, the educator of the whole human race; and she exercises upon the world to-day the most extraordinary influence.

“ French literature, art, and *esprit* have preserved an incontestable superiority, and Classics have contributed much towards this result. . . . ”

At the same time his religious personality, if I may so express it, developed, and he was deeply penetrated with the idea which was so dear to him, that for the stern labour reserved for the Catholic scholar of the present day, it was necessary to become tractable instruments in GOD'S hands, and really holy. “ My wish for you,” he wrote to a friend, “ is that you may daily become a priest more holy, more devout, more zealous, more humble, and more courageous, in a word, *more of a priest*.”

“ I ask this grace for you because it includes all the rest, because it includes in particular that of a fruitful ministry and a more and more personal influence over souls. We ought to diffuse around us a divine life; let us fill ourselves with this inebriating cordial, until it gushes forth and spreads itself everywhere around us. May we never hesitate to lavish forth our powers, those human powers which will serve to convey to the



souls of others the Divine power which we shall have treasured up within us. The work is indeed Divine with which we are entrusted ; let us carry within us much of that which is divine, so that we may become efficient agents of grace. Our lack of power, is it not the eternal regret of our life? if it were otherwise would you speak of it to me so often? if only this feeling would trouble us more, if only it would rouse us to the very depths of our souls in such a way as to set spur continually to all the energy we have and force from us a perpetual cry of distress towards the Divine pity!

“May one still believe the dream capable of being realized? the experience of the years which have rolled by does not warrant it. And yet we have no right to doubt GOD’S goodness and His power; there is no instrument so vile that He cannot make use of it; but truly there is need of nothing less than goodness and power infinite to draw me away from my indolence, my lack of restraint, my cowardice, and to urge me on towards the attack upon saintliness and the conquest of souls.”

This martial frame of mind and style somewhat violently portrayed, are not habitual to Abbé Morel. Why then at this hour was he so agitated? It is because those grave problems of which, during the vacation, he spoke to his friend, were assuming a more rigid attitude; because he was obliged to contribute towards their solution, since it was part of his office, and the more so since he was in contact already with young people whose notice none of the contemporary disquietudes escaped. He felt there was everything to be done and little was being done. With ill-con-

cealed impatience he wrote to his kinsman, the Abbé Noël: "I am moreover amazed that at Saint-Dié they *allow* the Abbés to go to Paris or Rome, as though a few years of study were a loss to the diocese, in place of *compelling* them to go, and drawing up for them a carefully prepared programme, so that there should be no need to improvise professors for the *Grand Séminaire* or *Petit Séminaire*. The State requires university graduates for all its Lycées: why does it not insist upon our having them for our colleges? it would render us a great service, in which unfortunately the *Grands Séminaires* would have no share." He himself thought of preparing for a fellowship in Philosophy, because he felt the influence of present-day Philosophy in the new form which the religious problem assumed. And in order to have some answer to give to the disquietude of souls, he wished to be thoroughly competent. He quitted the *École des Carmes* and spent a year in Germany and in Rome: it will be seen that the same prepossessions of mind followed him everywhere, and he sought in every place for means of help towards the rebuilding, on a new scale, of this theological structure which he believed modern criticism to have upset.

During the two last years of his life as student, we observe that Abbé Morel was profoundly transformed. Like all his contemporaries, he had been affected by this invading and domineering criticism. But the unity of his life and thought was not broken for a single instant. Just as he had brought together into a sacerdotal perspective, all the various studies to which he had for obedience' sake applied himself in succession, so after this complete change in the direction of his mind, he remained himself, simply a priest.

If he had changed, it was due to the requirements of the Apostolate, because he believed that he was conscious of new necessities and had visions of seeing the Church making response to the disquietude of all minds.

Into the most daring criticism he carried the same holiness of outlook as formerly he had carried into the most rigid Scholasticism ; or rather, in proportion to his advance upon new and dangerous ground, he felt that he had still more need of GOD'S help, and he strengthened his inner life, he humbled himself, he prayed, he mortified his body, and as he says, in order to write good and useful criticisms, he bombarded the Citadel of Sanctity.

## CHAPTER V.

### L'ABBÉ MOREL'S TRAVELS.

IN this chapter there will be no question either of the travels in Russia, which are dealt with in a special chapter, nor of the journey to England in 1902, which is explained by preoccupations in the life of Abbé Morel which we have not seen as yet ; I shall therefore at present only speak of the travels which he undertook in order to complete his training and his studies.

Abbé Morel took with him on his journeys his practical mind, and his habits of patience and continuity of effort which had brought him so much success in his studies. With the exception of the journey of 1896 in Austria and Germany, which was undertaken for purposes of amusement and rest, his expeditions across Europe were in no respects pleasure trips. He first of all wanted to learn the languages : thus, leaving on one side the large towns where we find too many foreigners who know French, or even too many French people themselves, he shut himself up within a country presbytery, and condemned himself to a solitude which was not endured without some degree of discomfort. In this way he spent all the vacation of 1897 with the *Curé* of Oberbachem in Germany, and, under similar conditions, the vacation of 1898 in England. We have no accounts of

these early travels, which were probably of no interest : they simply represent an intense intellectual effort, undertaken for the purpose of understanding the genius of the two Saxon languages, and learning the current vocabulary. Abbé Morel's companions tell us that upon his return from his vacation in 1898, he spoke fluently, and with sufficient accuracy, both German and English.

In June, 1899, Abbé Morel set out again for Germany, and proceeded to take up the post of Chaplain at Werne, in Westphalia. From this point onwards, his travels become more interesting : as he knew the languages, he had time to take notice of men and things ; besides, his intellectual horizon had widened, and he sought abroad for a solution of the problems which had preoccupied him in France. Thus in Westphalia he recognized the intimate union between clergy and people, and proposed it as a pattern for his friends, who like himself were convinced of the need of an apostolic reform.

We shall be able henceforth to follow him in all his travels, and if we wish it, to be present with him in his daily life, thanks to the account of his movements which he drew up regularly. Abbé Morel's diary is a singular one : we must not expect to find personal impressions, opinions, or picturesque descriptions in these hasty and profound notes in which his personality reveals itself ; they only contain facts, material facts, a few of them important, but the majority insignificant. Abbé Morel notes for instance, that a certain professor upon whom he called wore a short jacket, that he took beer upon such a day and at such an hour, that he lost his umbrella at such and such a station



and that this umbrella had been bought at such and such a place, etc. etc. . . . We very soon observe that the method he adopted was to note down day by day everything he saw, and to guard himself from hastily formed opinions, which are nearly always faulty because they do not rest upon a sufficient number of known data. Later on, when he returned home, the traveller would make use of the facts as bench-marks, in order to reconstruct his life; he would sum up the various confused impressions which he had experienced, and by dint of reflection he would be able to arrive at a clear judgment. Abbé Morel's diary therefore is a very personal affair, a kind of conventional language intelligible only to himself; to us it is somewhat disconcerting, and we shall only quote it with discretion.

As he lived very much in contact with the German clergy during his stay in Werne, Abbé Morel was present at the meetings of various Guilds, and with evident partiality he tells of a gathering of *Knappenvereine*<sup>1</sup> in which he took part.

"I reached the Victoria Hall just as the Chaplain was going off the platform, after a discourse which was loudly applauded. The large and spacious hall, which was provided with electric lamps and ornamented with various decorations, banners, and inscriptions, among which exhortations to drink to the full were interspersed with Christian sentiments, was filled with a crowd of people who were diverting the time by helping themselves to beer and tobacco. I had scarcely entered the hall when the Dean announced an adjournment of the meeting, during which we might go and have supper at his house. . . . We hastened to return

<sup>1</sup> Guild of Workmen and specially of Miners.—[E. J. I. D.]

to the Victoria Hall so as not to give the miners and their wives and companions leisure to become impatient. After a speech by the Dean, brought to a close with *hochs*<sup>1</sup> in honour of the invited *Vereine* and the *Curé* of Kamen,<sup>2</sup> the latter gave us a veritable discourse, full of spirit, in which he recalled to mind the *Kulturkampf*,<sup>3</sup> boasted of the actual union of priests and people, and exhorted his hearers to prove themselves to be men everywhere. Three more *hochs* followed, in whose honour I no longer know, without prejudice to three more in honour of the address of the Dean, who is the chief President of the *Knappenvereine*, and as many again for the Chaplain and Vice-President of the Society. It is worthy of remark, that the Dean publicly read a letter in which the *Curé* of Kamen addressed him in the second person singular. It was signed 'Pisanus,' because, if I have correctly understood a remark made by the Dean, there is at Kamen a leaning tower, more or less similar to that which is to be seen at Pisa. Addresses and *hochs* were interspersed with selections of music by a brass band, and songs sung in unison at the invitation of the Dean. Of course we drank beer and smoked. They performed in rather mediocre fashion a piece in two acts; it was the second of the evening, the first having been finished before my arrival.

<sup>1</sup> A toast.

<sup>2</sup> A small town near Hamm in Westphalia.—[E. J. I. D.]

<sup>3</sup> The name applied to the controversy and struggle between the Prussian State and the Church of Rome. The name signifies, according to Virchow, the great antagonist of the clerical party, the struggle for education and enlightenment, but according to the clericals, the struggle against education and enlightenment. It arose out of the May Laws passed in 1872 by Falk, the minister of public worship, to restrain the activities of the Jesuits and others. A working compromise was eventually arrived at in 1880 and 1882. (*Harmsworth Encyclopedia*).—[E. J. I. D.]

After this the *Knappen* from Kamen resumed their homeward way, banners and torches in front, with a number of many coloured flags, everyone singing gaily. I watched them as they passed out of sight and returned home again. 'So geht es in Deutschland,'<sup>1</sup> said the Dean, who had also hoisted his presidential flag with a medallion of S. Barbara."

Abbé Morel notes another display, which is more picturesque ; this is a marriage among wealthy people in the country. "Yesterday, Wednesday, I took part in a wedding feast, a pantagruelian repast in a barn, at which there were a hundred people present. The bridegroom was an Oldenburger of Cloppenburg.<sup>2</sup> *Kaplan*<sup>3</sup> and *Vicar* were present. Behind us the horses fed from their mangers. The barn was decorated with evergreens and garlands. Roast meat preceded by and served with sweetmeats, was announced by shots from a gun, which made the horses start in their stalls. After the repast, coffee was served in a room apart, with the schoolmaster, the bride and bridegroom, and their parents."

As a spectator, Abbé Morel was present at clerical gatherings ; he listened to the conversations of priests, and he observed that here as elsewhere they were inclined to complain about the new education and "the state of mind of the younger clergy". He took walks in the country, he conversed with Westphalian peasants, and when he returned home in the evening he would stop to look at the wagon-loads of hay along the road, which were not arranged with so much skill as "those of the Vosges".

<sup>1</sup> That is how it is done in Germany.

<sup>2</sup> A town near Oldenburg.—[E. J. I. D.]

<sup>3</sup> Chaplain.

Early in the month of August, Abbé Morel left Werne and proceeded to London, passing through Kevelaer, Amsterdam, and the Hague. As on his first journey in England, he at first only associated with Roman Catholics, and was inclined to look upon all other Christians in England as simply Protestants. But a happy event placed him in touch with Miss Spearing and Mr. Griffith,<sup>1</sup> and to his astonishment he discovered a religious England whose existence he had never suspected. We must observe how carefully he makes notes of all the details which impressed him, and also what those details were which made such an impression upon him. Mr. Griffith was a Ritualist; and Abbé Morel, closely observing his religious attitude, and going with him into his church, noticed the care with which it was modelled after the fashion of Rome: outwardly he himself was so like a Roman Catholic as to be mistaken for one. As to his soul, it was so full of good-will, evangelical sweetness, and the love of GOD, that Abbé Morel was profoundly moved. The remembrance of Mr. Griffith followed him to Paris and throughout all his travels; it forced itself upon him with extraordinary intensity in Rome, the ancient capital of the Christian world; with great fervour he prayed for his friend and begged the intercessions of others for him, asking GOD to enlighten him and to bring him into Catholic Unity.

Meanwhile, in a confused sort of manner, he wrote down in his diary of the journey all the observations he had made; they appeared simple to him later on, and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Griffith, whose name we shall often find mentioned, died in 1905, from the effects of a fall which he had upon a rickety staircase, while visiting some poor parishioners. At this period he was assistant priest at St. Michael's, Islington.



those who know England will find them such; but they come very naturally from the pen of a French Priest who discovers the "Anglicans".

"Before lunch I had at first a moment's hesitation, and I asked myself whether I were not engaged in intercourse with a Roman Catholic priest. . . . After the repast, when I said I had seen with sorrow some letters in the *Catholic Times*, in which certain Roman Catholics accused the Ritualists wholesale of being of bad faith, Mr. Griffith declared: 'Of course we believe that we are priests; otherwise we should go over to Rome'. 'Cardinal Vaughan is rather inclined to accuse the Ritualists . . . he is not a convert to Rome'. 'But it is the converts to Rome who are the most bitter,' replied Mr. Griffith. 'Cardinal Manning was not always very amiable; but as to Newman, he was a splendid type of man; he always possessed perfect good-will for his former co-religionists.' 'A German priest,' I added, 'drew my notice to the fact that it was a sad thing to behold as Protestant the England who had sent S. Boniface and so many other Apostles to Germany.' '*We hope now we are Catholics*,' was Mr. Griffith's reply. . . . Mr. Griffith has read the *Revue Anglo-Romaine*; he is grateful to those Frenchmen who have contributed to it, and he declares that they have dispositions much more likely to attract Anglicans. . . . He considers that there is cause for congratulation in the progress of the devotion to the Blessed Virgin amongst Anglicans."

The day after this conversation, which had opened a new world to him, Abbé Morel met Mr. Griffith again at the house of Miss Spearing, a charitable invalid, who was the Providence of the children in the



neighbourhood: he noticed that the young priest carried about with him a Roman Diurnal (Malines Edition); then, accompanying his friend on a visit to two Anglican Churches, he was not a little surprised to discover how everything, even to the Sacristy, the Ornaments, and the Missal, bore exact resemblance to the furniture and arrangement of Roman Churches. Further: Mr. Griffith drew his notice to the fact that the book was supported upon the altar by a cushion, not a little desk, a custom which is in complete conformity with that of Rome and the decisions of the Congregation of Rites! These simple details collected together by Abbé Morel, in the course of his journey in 1899, were enough to enlighten his mind. From this time onwards his attention was aroused with regard to religious questions in England; he wanted to return thither, and when he did return, it would be with a mind absolutely open and free from prejudices.

In July, 1900, Abbé Morel set out upon a journey which was to last more than a year. This time he no longer proposed learning languages: he both spoke and wrote English and German fluently; but having determined to devote himself to the study of Patrology and Positive Theology, he wanted to see for himself what resources and what hints he could find in the German and in the Roman Universities. It was the Society for Promoting the Studies of the Clergy which had given him the idea of this inquiry, and which had provided him with the means of carrying it into good effect. He stayed many months in Tübingen, Munich, Rome, Vienna, Berlin, Würzburg, and Dresden.

His stay in Tübingen appears to have been par-

ticularly enjoyable and profitable to him : the account of his impressions concludes with this gay comment, whose equal we should find with difficulty in his diary : "*Vale Tübingen, Gott sei dank* ;<sup>1</sup> I am contented with my stay here". After having installed himself in a "Private Lodging" which, thanks to the kindness of Dr. Zorell and Dr. Reck he soon discovered, he set himself to his task and attended the courses of lectures at the University. Prof. Funk and Prof. Schanz chiefly attracted him ; these are the terms in which he speaks of their lectures.

"Yesterday I was able to hear successively the lectures given by Prof. Funk and Prof. Schanz. I understood the former better than the latter, no doubt because I am already a little accustomed to Prof. Funk's pronunciation. Neither of them speak very loudly.

"Prof. Funk maintains the same tone continuously, his gestures, few in number, are short enough. From time to time he pushes himself back in his chair, as though during the course of speaking he had slipped forward upon the seat.

"The explanations with which he interpolates the text of his book often furnish him with opportunities for judging men and matters more freely. He is not afraid either to point out the inconvenient nature of the temporal power of the Popes, nor to style the Interdict a barbarous procedure, nor yet to express delight with the disappearance of certain privileges of the clergy, which to-day would have no other result than the stirring up of popular hatred. He stated yesterday, with reference to the question of the rites of Malabar,

<sup>1</sup> "Farewell Tübingen—Thanks be to God."

and the resistance maintained by Jesuit missionaries to Roman decisions, that in spite of their oath of obedience to the Holy See, the Jesuits act pretty much like every one else : they obey those orders which please them and are but little tractable with regard to those which are not to their liking. And when this morning he asked why Baius was condemned by Rome, while at the same time Lessius was acquitted, his answer was very simple : it was because Lessius belonged to an influential congregation. Reflections such as these are of a nature to excite and maintain interest, and they cannot but have a good influence in the formation of habits of judgment among the hearers : they have no right to ignore the human side of the Church.

"Prof. Schanz makes more gestures and more ample ones than Prof. Funk. . . . He holds in his hand the leaves of his book, but he rarely casts his eye upon them. There is a little sing-song in his voice ; for a time I heard only the accentuated syllables and the meaning of entire sentences escaped me. . . . Prof. Schanz speaks, moreover, with more animation than Prof. Funk. . . . Yesterday, his subject was the Being of GOD, to-day the immortality of the soul.

"Prof. Schanz has unquestionably shown that he knows these subjects ; he is not afraid to point out the real difficulties, though without attempting to treat them fully ; evidently it is neither the time nor the place.<sup>1</sup> He told us what he could and what ought to be told.

<sup>1</sup> Those who attend the lectures of the theological faculties in Germany are not those students who are in course of completing their theological studies, but seminarists who, like the pupils of our French

"Yesterday morning I attended the lectures by Professors Sägmüller and Belser. Both suggest a subject to their pupils upon which they afterwards make comments. The former spoke very distinctly, and the ideas which he expressed appeared to be just as clear as his pronunciation. The subject was the Holy Days of Obligation. Prof. Belser has a rather shy appearance: he raised the movable part of his desk to such a height that it hid him from the view of a considerable section of his audience. The subject of his lecture was an introduction to the Catholic Epistles. . . . Prof. Belser is considered to be most devout; I could see from his lecture that he is very conservative. He is careful to provide his pupils with explicit assertions, whereas Prof. Vetter, who is a man of much greater intellect, is in no-wise ashamed to say he does not know a thing. The pupils naturally notice the rather frequent contradictions between the teaching of Prof. Belser and that of Prof. Funk. For instance, while the latter speaks of the ἐπίσκοποι<sup>1</sup> in the plural and says that the chief of the Apostolic Band was originally *primus inter pares*,<sup>2</sup> the former observes throughout the New Testament a monarchical episcopate such as we have since understood it."

Abbé Morel did not content himself with these elementary courses of lectures; he worked under the direction of Prof. Funk, who honoured him with special

*Grands Séminaires* are beginning Theology. The courses of lectures necessarily possess an elementary character: the professor limits himself more often to the explanation of some book.

<sup>1</sup> "Bishops" or "overseers" which grew to mean the same thing. —[E. J. I. D.]

<sup>2</sup> "First among equals," which is supported by many if not the majority of the Fathers.—[E. J. I. D.]



favour. "On coming out of the Sacristy, Prof. Funk took me to his house, where he proposed to me a study of texts parallel with those of the VIIIth book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. His opinion is opposed to that of Achelis, which is accepted by Duchesne and Batiffol, as it seems to him without proof, and he would like the subject to be treated directly in a French work. He put into my hands the splendid pages of a study which he is about to publish on kindred questions, and he gave me a card to enable me to obtain the work by Achelis from Prof. Zorell at the library. . . . To Prof. Funk's splendid pages and his book upon the *Apostolical Constitutions*, there is to be added a tome entitled *Texte und Untersuchungen*<sup>1</sup> on the *Canones Hippoliti*.<sup>2</sup> I read the two first paragraphs and discovered that the subject is far from being simple."

Abbé Morel's good-will and simplicity very soon won him the friendship of the *répétiteurs du convict*<sup>3</sup> and he lived on familiar terms with them, taking part in their walks and being present with them at the festivities of the various student societies. The account of these pleasure trips in Abbé Morel's diary is most animated: we feel with him the delight of being made welcome in a simple fashion by friends, and of being

<sup>1</sup> "Texts and Researches."

<sup>2</sup> "The Canons of Hippolytus."

<sup>3</sup> There is a peculiar difficulty with regard to this expression, inasmuch as the methods and constitutions of the Universities on the Continent, differ somewhat from those in England. *Convict* is a German term which indicates a sort of hostel, of the nature of a family boarding-house, which is exclusively reserved for students and of which our Colleges at Oxford or Cambridge perhaps afford some idea.

A *Répétiteur* is a kind of tutor, whose duty it is to hear the lessons which the pupils have been taught in the University.—[E. J. I. D.]



in contact with charming and eager youth. "Truly Tübingen has nothing of the Prussian about it," he loved to say, "and Würtemberg is a delightful country."

must quote at least a few fragments of the account of a festivity among the students which he has written with manifest pleasure.

"Herr Steinhauser introduced me to the Museum where the *Stiftungsfest*<sup>1</sup> of the Catholic Association of the *Guestfalia*<sup>2</sup> took place. . . . A student dressed in a kind of dolman of green velvet with green and white gimp, white pantaloons, and huge boots, took us into the hall where the fête was being held. He presented us to the President, who wore the same kind of costume, and who welcomed us with numerous bowings. They installed me at the side of Herr Steinhauser, almost in front of the President, in the middle of a horseshoe formed by three large tables. . . .

"The hall filled up by degrees: the *Curé* of Tübingen, an old member of the *Guestfalia*, Dr. Fürst, and others took their places on either side of the President. The members of the *Guestfalia* occupied the two arms of the horseshoe, leaving the places near to the President for their guests. The President, a young student with a snub nose and well-smoothed hair, whose small round head had nothing German about it, was enthroned in an arm-chair of carved wood, upon the high back of which was inscribed the motto of the *Guestfalia*, together with the dates of 1859 and 1884. Over his velvet dolman in the place of the ribbon was displayed a large silk scarf, which from time to time he was obliged to push up over his left shoulder. Before him, upon the table, lay a heavy rapier without an edge,

<sup>1</sup> Commemoration or Foundation-Festival.—[E. J. I. D.]

<sup>2</sup> Latin name for Westphalia.—[E. J. I. D.]

furnished with an enormous guard very glittering. I was not long in discovering to what use this singular implement was put.

“At the extreme end of the horseshoe table upon the right of the President the *Contrapřasidium*<sup>1</sup> was seated, wearing a similar costume and furnished with the same kind of rapier. The *Fuchsmajor*<sup>2</sup> occupied the corresponding position upon the left; he was distinguished by a foxtail which adorned his flat cap. He presided over the *Füchse*<sup>3</sup> under his care, the *Füchse* who had not yet acquired the right to wear black. Full authority is accorded to the President; not only do the students maintain silence when he orders it, but if they leave the hall they must ask his permission.

“Every song or speech, and every communication from the President to the Assembly was announced by a vigorous blow from the rapier upon the table, which was protected fortunately by a thick piece of paste-board. Two such blows, which sounded like an echo, were struck by the *Contrapřasidium* and the *Fuchsmajor*, who, rising from their seats at the same time as their chief, replied to his signal. The President would then exclaim ‘Silentium,’ in a tone of voice which he made as imperious as possible.

“There was a preliminary address by the President to accord a welcome to the guests. President though he was, he was obliged to cast a glance from time to time upon his manuscript which was spread out upon the table. There were numerous songs, frequently

<sup>1</sup> Vice-President.

<sup>2</sup> Senior Freshman.

<sup>3</sup> Literally “Foxes,” corresponding to our University term of Freshmen. Men who are in their first year at the University.—[E. J. I. D.]

corresponding with the various episodes of the ceremony. They rose to their feet for the verses, the theme of which was the German Fatherland, and when protestations of friendship occurred they clasped hands. Each speech, or nearly so, was followed by a *Salamander*.<sup>1</sup> At the word of command: 'Sind die Stoffe präpariert?'<sup>2</sup>—'eins, zwei, drei.'<sup>3</sup> . . . The students, standing up, drank a long draught, then made a kind of rolling noise with their tankards of beer upon the table,—'eins, zwei, drei,' after which they sat down again. . . .

"The most important ceremony was the admission of the *Füchse* to the rank of *Bursch*.<sup>4</sup> At a given moment, all the *Füchse* quit the hall together with their sponsors, who are seated at the same end of the table. A few moments afterwards, upon the signal from the President, the band first—an orchestra installed in a tribune at the end of the hall—and then the students, strike up a song composed for the occasion. The *Füchse* return, with *Fuchsmajor* at the head, *à cheval* on the shoulders of their sponsors; they make a tour several times round the space enclosed by the horseshoe tables; and then, when the singing is finished, all spring to the ground, and, presented by the *Fuchsmajor*, advance one after the other before the President. The latter thereupon vests them with a cap having the black ribbon; over their green and white scarf places a new scarf of green, white, and

<sup>1</sup> Made by rolling their pots of beer upon the table and then striking the table with the bottom of the pot several times in quick succession.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "Are things ready?" = "Are the glasses filled?"—to which the students reply *sunt* or *non sunt* = "yes" or "no".

<sup>3</sup> One, two, three, . . .

<sup>4</sup> A student at college.

black, and touches each upon the shoulder three times with the end of his rapier, saying at the same time: '*I X . . . Guestfaliæ senior, te X . . . vulpem burscemium nomino, nominatum pronuntio pronuntiatum declaro.*'<sup>1</sup> Then he exclaims aloud: '*Was ist X . . . ?*'<sup>2</sup> in response to which the Assembly answers with all its might '*Bursch*'——'*Wer ist Bursch ?*'<sup>3</sup> to which reply is made by giving the name of the new companion.

"Returning to their places, the new *Burschen* have to listen to an address from the President, telling them of their new duties and commenting upon the motto of the *Guestfalia*. They next sing the *Bundeslied*,<sup>4</sup> a special melody of the *Guestfalia*. Then as arranged beforehand, one of the newly promoted proceeds with his speech, followed by a *Salamander*."

Abbé Morel was present many a time at similar spectacles, at festivities of societies, gatherings of students, and university solemnities; and as in this old Würtemberg town they have preserved all their picturesqueness, he took great delight in them and it pleased him to recount them. He met the students and their tutors on his walks in the country. However if the *sehr romantisch*<sup>5</sup> character of their sites pleased him, he cared less for the huge wooden towers which the Germans have erected here and there "so

<sup>1</sup> "I X . . . President of the Guestfalia, nominate thee X . . . Freshman, as Student, I proclaim thee nominated, I declare thee elected."

<sup>2</sup> "What is X?"

<sup>3</sup> "Who is Student?"

<sup>4</sup> A kind of national air composed by a college Club or society for use at their festivals; every society has its own song.—[E. J. I. D.]

<sup>5</sup> "Very romantic."



as to see better," and the château of Lichtenstein he regarded as an anomaly. It is an airy holiday villa for peaceful citizens of the twentieth century, but built like a fortress of the Middle Ages upon an isolated rock surrounded by precipices.

As we can well imagine, the subject of the conversations between Abbé Morel and the tutors of Tübingen was often the religious situation in France: one cannot spend five minutes with a German without his speaking of "our misfortunes". Our friend gives an account of these various discussions, mostly without comment, reserving them for subjects of reflection later on, in order to see whether they contained any hints as to the remedy for our ills. Thus he quotes at full length the "discourse" which Dr. Reck, the Director of the *Convict* delivered to him one evening in the coffee room of the *Prinz Karl*:—

"Dr. Reck, at great length deplored the actual situation of France. He regrets that France and Germany should be enemies, all the more so because France was founded by the Germans: was not Charlemagne the Sovereign of both countries? but in France they think too much of the question of Alsace-Lorraine, particularly Roman Catholics. Instead of bringing about the ruin of France, it would be far better to occupy ourselves in arresting her decadence. Indeed one fails to understand how a country which possesses such a glorious past can allow herself to be led by a handful of freemasons. . . .

"The system of Seminaries is a misfortune. In Germany, priests are educated at the *Gymnasium*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A kind of school like a Grammar School where all who intend to enter a profession receive their education prior to proceeding to the University.—[E. J. I. D.]



with men who enter liberal professions or hold civil functions.

“ They pass with them from the Gymnasium to the University ; they understand them and know their value. They wear no cassock to hedge themselves round with an insurmountable barrier ; they are more accessible and more free in their movements. What France wants to-day is a Bismarck, with twenty years of persecution ; there is the remedy. . . . Dr. Reck congratulates himself also on being able when he thinks good to go and drink his beer in an inn, and there to smoke and talk quietly. It is a comfort to him to be able to leave his occupations for a while and to think of nothing. ‘ There is nothing,’ he says, ‘ less calculated to give offence than that which we are accustomed to do here ; however in France, with your cassock, you cannot do it.’ . . . Briefly, there is nothing new in all these reflections of Dr. Reck’s ; it is what one often hears in Germany. It is true that the evil exists ; France is not what she ought to be ; but is it a fact that the question is as simple as the Germans imagine ? That is altogether doubtful.”

Careful and patient historian as he was, Abbé Morel desired to give an account of the origin, the vicissitudes, and organization of the Province of Würtemberg ; he accordingly perused the chief works which relate its history, and took notice of all around him. This is how he summed up his impressions. “ There is no place so peaceful as Würtemberg, which is not disturbed by ambition like Prussia, nor by an anxious longing after an independence as complete as possible like Bavaria, nor yet by an immoderate passion for German Unity like the Grand Duchy of Baden.

Catholics and Protestants live together in peace : the inhabitants are gentle and peaceful 'gemütlich' ; they have neither the roughness of the Bavarian, nor the arrogance of the Prussian. . . . The entire country, in its own way, gives the same impression of repose which I experienced in my apartments in *Babenhausen*.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly they work hard in Würtemberg ; but I discovered no trace of violent passions, similar to those which run riot in neighbouring countries or like those which for a long time have lacerated Suabia itself."

The issue of all these observations concerning the University of Tübingen and Würtemberg resulted in a work which was published by the *Revue du Clergé français*<sup>2</sup> for the 1st of July, 1901. It was entitled *La Faculté de Théologie catholique à l'Université de Tubingue*.<sup>3</sup>

Abbé Morel in bold strokes gives there an account of the history of Würtemberg and of the University ; then he gives precise explanations respecting the courses at the Faculty and the organization of the studies. I shall not quote anything from this article, because the information which it contains has been presented already in the foregoing pages ; Abbé Morel reveals facts, but expresses few opinions ; we feel, however, that he has a keen admiration for the system of the *Convicts* and their tutors. Consequently I have often heard him speak of the German and English *Convicts*, of that grouping together of students under the direction of young masters who live the same life ; he

<sup>1</sup> A town in Würtemberg.

<sup>2</sup> "The Review of the French Clergy."

<sup>3</sup> "The Catholic Theological Faculty at the University of Tübingen."—[E. J. I. D.]

attempted to realize this ideal at the Seminary of Saint-Vincent de Paul, and he believed that this organization, if it could be acclimatized in France, would prove the salvation of our free higher education, which is so menaced.

On the 21st of August, 1900, Abbé Morel quitted Tübingen, where he left behind him none but friends, and after having spent three days in Stuttgart, he went to take a week's rest with his friend Müller, the *Curé* of Backnang. "The peaceful atmosphere of the Presbytery of Backnang," he wrote, "affords a happy contrast to the movement and noise of Stuttgart. No more monuments to visit and no more museums to run through; but by way of compensation, I have a superb view from my window. The Protestant School shuts out a good bit of the view to the left, but to the right the Protestant Church and its tower are most picturesque; they show up well against the sombre green of the meadows and apple orchards which I perceive on the other side of the valley, and the still more obscure tint of the huge forests which shut out the horizon." Abbé Morel spent several delightful days in this retreat.

Although he was taking a rest which had become necessary, Abbé Morel, whose curiosity was always on the watch, did not fail to be present at the gatherings of ecclesiastics, which are analogous to our conferences. The meetings which he frequented begin at the presbytery, where each brings with him the result of his intellectual labour, and they terminate at the village inn, where each one dines according to his fancy, paying out of his own pocket. The sight of all these priests drinking beer and smoking pipes in a tavern

appears strange to a Frenchman at first ; but he listens to their talk ; he makes the tour, so to speak, of the tables ; and he very soon perceives that the conversation is serious, even very grave. Each one speaks of his own parish, of the progress he has achieved in popular organization ; in the amelioration whether religious or economical of his own particular group ; he hears the account of attempts made by his colleagues ; he asks advice from the more experienced ; and, in a few words, we learn of concerted action in order to combat alcoholism, emigration of farm labourers, social anarchy, the Protestant invader. The tavern parlour resembles a lecture room for a circle of studies.

After leaving the *Curé* of Backnang,<sup>1</sup> Abbé Morel spent several days in Nüremberg and Ratisbon, and reached Munich on the 6th of September, in time to be present at the International Congress of Catholic Scientists. Upon the day of the opening of the Congress, the Organizing Secretary invited him to dine at his house, in company with the Honorary Presidents and best-known scholars. He was much amused at being taken "for a professor" and confused with "the illustrious guests". He only attended the Congress by way of diversion ; the real scholars had come chiefly out of curiosity, in the capacity of tourists, and a great number of the works which were there discussed bore no really scientific stamp upon them.

Abbé Morel escaped from Munich for a few days in order to see the *Passionspiel* at Oberammergau. He was moderate in his enthusiasm. "It is indeed remarkable how the villagers arrive at the perfection which is attained at Oberammergau. It is true that I

<sup>1</sup> A town near Stuttgart.



am unable to judge of the quality of their pronunciation. There is no theatrical machinery, no Bengal fire ; everything is serious, classical, and in harmony. This is an advantage over the operas in which there is too much jugglery. There is something of the nature of the Greek Theatre at Oberammergau. The light from the sky above the stage prevents one from clearly seeing what is taking place and is fatiguing to the eyes. On the other hand, thanks to this condition of things, the *tableaux vivants* produce a more striking effect perhaps. The costumes are very rich, the decorations numerous ; the *tableaux vivants*, in spite of the large number of characters, are got ready with the greatest rapidity. The actors play their parts better than professionals. The Christ is not always quite what I should have imagined our Lord to have been. The music is fine ; it repeats itself rather often, but to my mind this is not a fault. The voices are beautiful. The entire spectacle is indeed a thoroughly religious ceremony, and of such a nature as to touch the feelings of the audience and to create a salutary impression."

In Munich, which is pre-eminently a town of art, Abbé Morel made long halts in the museums. First of all he hurried through the old Pinacotheca<sup>1</sup> and Glyptotheca ;<sup>2</sup> then, armed with a detailed guide, he went more leisurely through the principal galleries. He felt their beauty ; but he did not voluntarily express what he felt, chiefly from a kind of modesty, and also through lack of artistic ability. At the Louvre I have often been struck with the accuracy, and at the same time the dryness of his observations.

It was very rarely that he did not mingle consider-

<sup>1</sup> Picture gallery.

<sup>2</sup> Sculpture gallery.



ations of utility with the contemplation of beauty : perfect adaptation of means to an end was the characteristic which impressed him most in a work of art of whatever kind, and from that point of view he used to discover almost as much beauty in a well-constructed bridge or a modern house as in any picture by the great masters.

His mind was preoccupied with learning the history of that which he admired, and it was real grief to him when he was unable to class some picture, statue, or monument within a given period, and a well-known school. At bottom he had, above all, an archæological turn of mind ; the disinterested delight of the artist was not unknown to him, but either it was transient, or he resisted it in order to taste pleasures of a nobler and more serious nature. It was the same with regard to music ; he often went with the priests of Munich to the Royal Opera : but his mind was absorbed in studying the book of words in order to understand the words themselves, and in comparing the music to which he listened with other music that he knew, so as to classify it. This artistic inability, which proceeded either from his limited nature, or his too scrupulous conscience as priest and scholar, in him was certainly a blank. Had he been more artistic, he would have given more background and more elegance to the expression of his ideas, his speech would have gained in warmth and his style in interest. Instead of which, judging from what he has said and written, one might say that he purposely stifled that which seemed to him to be too brilliant in his intellect, that he truncated his ideas and studied to diffuse over his style a uniform and neutral tint. This explains

how superficial men misunderstood him, and how he appeared too retiring to all who had not been able by means of long intercourse, to judge of his depth of mind and warmth of heart.

He roamed still more willingly through the libraries than through the museums. Books were better friends to him than pictures. Faithful to his usual custom, he studied in Munich the history of Bavaria; in the companionship of competent men he sought for the echo of those theological questions which were then being raised in France and which animated public opinion, and he also interested himself in the problems which were then alive in Germany. Thus he desired to form a right opinion respecting the quarrel between the Universities and the Seminaries; was it better to continue to train the clergy in the *Convicts* of the Universities, or was it expedient, in imitation of France, to isolate them from the world and to instruct them in the solitude of the Seminaries?

After having closely viewed the inner working of the University of Tübingen, he was distinctly on the side of the first solution; he did not understand what Germany could gain from a break with its traditions, and he did not see what advance had been made, for instance, by the founding of the Seminary at Strasburg.

"This afternoon I went for a walk in the English garden, while reading the pamphlet by Holzmann: *Die Bildung des Clerus*.<sup>1</sup> The first half is not very able: Herr Holzmann beats the air; most of his arguments do not affect the Faculties existing to-day. . . . I got to the end of Holzmann's pamphlet with-

<sup>1</sup> "The Education of the Clergy."

out finding one serious argument against a Faculty organized upon the same lines as that of Tübingen."

At the end of September, Abbé Morel quitted Munich, and, passing by way of Lindau, Zürich, Einsiedeln, and Lucerne, reached Saint-Dié, where he was obliged to devote a few days to his family. Three weeks afterwards he resumed his journey, which had been thus momentarily interrupted, and set out for Rome, visiting on the way Milan, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Siena, and Orvieto. This journey was not, as we might imagine, one of continued delight. The Cathedral at Milan appeared to him to be too much massed together and overdecorated; Genoa which, with its streets lined with palaces of marble, is so superficially attractive and glittering, seemed to him tame and unpleasing. On the other hand, the mournful aspect of Pisa, that lifeless town, left with him a profound impression. On the Campo Santo, the meditative Vosgian met again the recollections of his melancholy boyhood, and, as he discreetly points out in his diary, he dreamed here about his "native country". Florence attracted him; but as he was compelled to visit the town amid pelting rain, he did not make a long stay there; his "course" through the museums unquestionably left with him an impression of great artistic richness; but he was not seized with the regret, which nearly all those experience, who leave Florence after a few days, and which urges them to return upon the first opportunity. Morel did not return to Florence, and he never had the temptation to do so; he had seen it; and now he must learn something new, in order to know as much as possible and turn it to the best account. Is there time for a man

to enjoy himself when he travels for the purpose of becoming a master of Positive Theology? Abbé Morel wrote in the margin of his diary a reflection which describes him admirably: "As though anyone imagines that I am travelling for my own pleasure . . . indeed!"

He was in haste to reach Rome. Thus, for the account of his stay in Siena and Orvieto, he contented himself with tabulating a list of curiosities which he had visited, like an Englishman, with his Baedeker in his hand; and he finished up with saying: "Behold the conclusion of the last of these tiring excursions in the towns of Italy, upon which for a week past I have been engaged".

Later on, but only once, I have heard him express regret for having been too scrupulous during this journey, and for not having sauntered a little when he had the opportunity, through those charming and entrancing towns, the atmosphere of which slowly acts upon the soul and in some way may contribute even towards the training of the masters of Positive Theology.

Abbé Morel having reached Rome, installed himself—this time for many months—at Saint-Louis des Français. Undoubtedly he intended to see Rome, both Pagan and Christian Rome; but in his eyes this was only a fortunate incident. He would avail himself of the opportunity which was afforded him for enriching his mind and amusing himself in an agreeable way. His chief anxiety was to work in a practical manner. He counted upon the libraries and courses of lectures in the Universities; and, above all, scorning beaten tracks, he desired to enter into distinct relationship with true Italians, in order, first of all to learn their



language, and then to form an opinion as to the state of their theological knowledge, and the manner in which religious problems presented themselves in their country.

He shared his schemes with his associates, and was not a little surprised at the astonishment and amazement with which such designs were met by his brethren.

They smiled a little at his zeal, and as he relates in his diary they prophesied that the climate of Rome would take upon itself the task of providing him with a more gentle turn of mind and more practical notions. The wise Vosgian knew how to bend for a moment, without forsaking his ideal. Mgr. Duchesne having frankly told him that since he was in Rome he ought before all things to see Rome, he conscientiously gave himself up to that occupation and experienced exquisite delight in the process.

Since he had determined "to see" Rome, Abbé Morel set himself to the task with his usual sure and diligent method. Nearly every day he took a walk in Rome which he had planned in his study. As he found himself in the Catholic Capital at the time of the Jubilee, he availed himself of the opportunity of paying his jubilee visits to the churches and basilicas: the impressions he received—if we trust to his diary—were rather limited; he gives an account of every detail as spectator, archæologist, and historian, but, as he says with regard to S. Peter's, he did not succeed in kindling in himself real artistic enthusiasm.

The Art Galleries of the Vatican and the Capitol, the masterpieces scattered throughout twenty museums attracted him; once he even regrets not being able to stop to enjoy them; but "we are not upon earth in



order to live as 'dilettanti' ".<sup>1</sup> In his visits to the Forum and the Palatine he availed himself of the help of his brother ecclesiastics who had already studied Pagan Rome, and he read again the books by Gaston Boissier. "Somewhat ancient, but so enjoyable." The monuments, witnesses to the faith of the first centuries, and in particular the catacombs, often saw him; he also had the good fortune to hear Marucchi's addresses upon this subject and he expresses his delight in them.

There was one thing which always seemed to him an anomaly and wounded him, and to which even after a stay of six months he did not get accustomed: it was the attitude of the Italians in the churches. "I went this afternoon to S. John Lateran where Cardinal Satolli conducted the first Vespers of the Dedication. The people crowded up to the choir-screen to hear the singers. In the stalls, some individuals in various attire recited the Breviary or listened to the music. It is distinctly understood that in Rome a Solemn Office is nothing else than a spectacle presented to eyes, and ears, a display of luxury and art. . . . This morning, the Baptistery of S. John Lateran, with its two-storied columns, appeared to me more curious than beautiful. A Cardinal vested in a chasuble of poor appearance, was conducting an Ordination in the choir of the Basilica. I came in at the beginning of the Offertory; the newly ordained priests were each flanked by a kind of ceremoniaris; the other ordinands occupied stalls on the Epistle side. The crowd pressed forward against the choir-screen; they chatted, they came and went. The absence of recollectedness, in a cere-

<sup>1</sup> Dabblers in art.

mony of this kind, made an unpleasant impression upon me, which my companion's admiration in no wise modified." Other "Spectacles" more devout, such as the way of the Cross at Saint-Théodore, or the Midnight Mass at Saint-Louis des Français, did not reconcile to Italian devotion, this thoughtful and gentle Vosgian priest, who only understood prayer in its twofold aspect of interior and exterior recollection. "To sum up," he says, "it was a very spiritless Christmas festival. The organ indeed at midnight played the melody *Il est né le divin enfant* . . .<sup>1</sup> but it was not enough to revive those old memories which have such a charm at Christmas-tide in France. There was no recollectedness at the Midnight Mass and no religious poetry. I believe M. S. . . . in spite of Vladimir and Moreschi, would far rather listen to the echoes, which in the Pyrenees, give back the melodies of the highlanders, as they wend their way to the village church. I also prefer Christmas in the Vosges."

We find the same strain in a letter written from Rome to a friend. "The religion of the Italians has not yet had the good fortune to please me, or if you will, I have not yet arrived at understanding it. To tell the truth, the extent of my knowledge of it is confined to the Greater Offices, in which I have sometimes assisted, and where the disorder and perpetual coming and going of the multitude presents a complete contrast to Trans-Alpine customs. Recollection does not appear to form any part of the religion here."

In brief, his impressions are those of a man who acts

<sup>1</sup> "The Divine Son is born."

upon the defensive, and refuses to allow himself to be overcome by an atmosphere too much opposed to his own temperament. Little by little, however, Rome did act upon him, and he acquired a more just appreciation. "It is certain," he wrote to a friend, "that the Eternal City pleases me better now than it did two months ago. An all-pervading poetry flows from her ruins and her monuments, in which artistic delight, historical memories, and religious feeling prevail in turn. Of necessity one grows to love this corner of the earth, which by divers rights remains for more than two thousand years the centre of the world, which at one time was the focus of the civilization in which we live, and which to-day more than ever perhaps, attracts the attention of all Christians. I must tell you that I have taken frequent walks in Rome, to the Forum, the Palatine, in Basilicas and Museums, wherever the spectator is admitted. In places where I used only to see narrow and dirty streets, I now behold wonders at each step I take; oh! that I had the time to read again the history of Rome, seated upon the top of one of the gigantic arcades of the palace of Caligula. . . . But we are not upon earth to be 'dilettanti'."

However, such he was in his time; and the accounts which he wrote, of his walks at Monte-Mario, Frascati, Anzio, and Tivoli possess a freshness and picturesque quality which with him are rare. This is how he describes a sunset at Tivoli: "From the train we had a view which is unparalleled. For a few minutes before it set, we beheld the sun emerging from behind the thick cloud which had covered it hitherto, shedding red gleams over the mountains and producing in the

clouds reflections of fire. The spray which arose from one of the cascades appeared in part luminous; the colours of the plain could not be described." And again this walk in Albano; "The weather was splendid, even hot after midday, though less clear than in the evening before. The Alban hills appeared more and more beautiful as we approached. During our meal we enjoyed a superb panorama over the mountains, the plain with the aqueducts, the ruins and the flocks, even over Rome herself; we could see the dome of S. Peter's behind Castel-Rotundo. From Castel-gandolpho we were able to admire the sunset: the shadows rose little by little upon the opposite shore of the lake of Albano, while, reaching up to the top-most level a light violet shade enveloped the mountains. On the other side we saw the sea sparkling under the setting sun, and forming a long blue line between the violet-coloured plain and the sky which was bordered with rose colour. When the sun dipped down into the sea the roseate tint in the sky grew more vivid, and only died away just as we reached Albano."

In the course of his walks among the mountains which reminded him of his glorious rambles in the Vosges, Abbé Morel recovered his former gaiety and took a keen delight in relating merry stories to his companions and listening to theirs. In connexion with these I will quote a page of his diary which might provoke a smile from the most sombre reader; "This afternoon we went for a walk to the country seat of Monte-Mario. We were all present. . . . Somebody related the story of M. X. . . . who was promoted in company with General Boulanger at



Saint-Cyr, and was captain in the papal Zouaves, afterwards commissioned in the army of Bourbaki, then aide-de-camp to Don Carlos and ' Knight of the Lilac,'<sup>1</sup> Trappist at Staoueli, seminarist at Issy, ordained priest in Rome with the help of an Italian Jesuit, was expelled and afterwards received back again at Saint-Louis des Français. He became a priest it appears, because he had killed his fencing master in a duel. He lived as a hermit for four years in Palestine, where he afterwards founded a Trappist Convent. By means of some articles in the *Figaro* he attempted to obtain the nomination of a Cardinal, Mgr. Piavi, a former officer of Garibaldi's, who had vexed him in Palestine, he failed to be nominated Bishop of Guadeloupe by Boulanger, was one fine day the means of causing to be suspended over the parapet of a bridge an individual who had insulted him, on another occasion he brought two dandies into the questor's office, one under each arm, who wished to conduct him thither because with two light blows from his stick he had thrown their hats into the mud. He was steward at Saint-Louis, but fell out with M. X. . . . who had put him under police control in Paris, and whom he attempted one evening to cudgel; he was *Curé* of Laghouat and of Tlemcen and had an extraordinary number of wild adventures. . . . This story sent us into fits of laughter!"

There were gladsome recreations here. Between times Abbé Morel kept on with his work. He followed the courses at the Roman Universities. Both in his diary and in his letters he appraises their professors; and while paying all due homage to their abilities, he

<sup>1</sup> Fr. "Chevalier du Lilas".



reveals their limitations in a manner somewhat lively. This animation explains itself. The University course is intended for young students who have everything to learn; and Abbé Morel, who had already embarked upon the study of many questions, and had listened to masters of eminence in France and Germany, found the instruction insufficient of professors who were simply upon a level with their audience. "This barbarous Latin is not pleasing," he would say; "and how few ideas there are beneath this artificial language." I heard M. X. upon Article I of Question 32 of Part I of the "Summa" of S. Thomas Aquinas. He spent the best part of his three-quarters of an hour in explaining the title. *Can human reason understand the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead?* Such was the subject of his lecture. The professor treated it with the most complete ignorance of history, limiting himself to the explanation of words, we might say to juggling with them. There was not a vestige of meaning beneath this verbiage. . . . I also heard the lecture by M. X., which was equally tame, upon the definition of the Law. M. Y. who, with a splendid bass voice, discussed the question of the Unity of GOD, handled very skilfully the subtleties of Scholastic Ontology; he spoke of the deliriums and insanities of Pantheism with a simplicity and benevolence which, unfortunately, was also too scholastic.

Abbé Morel busied himself with more personal labours, which came more within the scope of his studies in Positive Theology. With careful attention to detail, having recourse to the right sources, asking for information from masters such as Mgr. Duchesne and afterwards meditating in his study and praying at

the Confession of S. Peter, he wrote in Rome two long memoirs, which unfortunately have not passed into our hands ; one was about the Schism of Antioch, the other was upon the Infallibility of the Pope. At the time he was much impressed with a letter which his London friend, Mr. Griffith, had written to him, consulting him with reference to these two delicate points. "A letter reached me on Monday from Mr. Griffith, who apologizes for not having written sooner. He tells me that he has just read various works, Anglican or Catholic,<sup>1</sup> upon the *Claims of Rome*, and that *Les Églises séparées*,<sup>2</sup> by Duchesne, has pleased him much. He asks me to help him to understand the history of the Schism of Antioch from the Roman point of view. The doctrine of Papal Infallibility appears to him to be compromised in the case. Mr. Griffith declares that he would not go over to the Church of Rome without being assured that she is really what she pretends to be. This letter has much impressed me and I went at once to S. Peter's to pray for a while for this brave young man, whom Providence has thus put in my way. I asked for intercessions for him from the Superior of the *Adoration réparatrice*<sup>3</sup> in Paris. Two months later he wrote this simple note in his diary. "The two works destined for Mr. Griffith are on their way in company with a letter written this morning . . . in GOD'S keeping."

These labours at Positive Theology, in which a con-

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Roman Catholic.—[E. J. I. D.]      <sup>2</sup> The separated Churches.

<sup>3</sup> A community whose chief object is to pray before the Blessed Sacrament (Exposed), and to make reparation for offences committed against GOD.—[E. J. I. D.]

ception of the apostolate found entrance, did not suffice for his activity; and he was again consumed with the desire to see the Italians at close quarters, and to understand their ideas. "I want to know the Italians," he wrote, "it is truly the case that I am not here solely for the purpose of studying Archæology or the history of Art; I must obtain useful information. Where then are those Tübingen tutors to be found here? if only I could know in the same way the pick of the young priests of Rome."

His wish was very soon realized; but it obliged him to enter upon a system of studies and ideas which were not his own. With the help of a recommendation from M. Goyau, he was enabled to put himself in touch with the Abbé Murri, who had just launched forth the *Cultura Sociale*, and together with this review, was publishing a daily paper; he was also engaged in directing a very active circle of studies, and had just placed before the public a book which caused no little stir, entitled *Battaglie d' Oggi*. Abbé Morel was present at the meetings in connexion with the circle of studies; he listened absently to long discussions respecting the price of grain; he even took sufficient interest in the Christian Democratic movement as to contribute an article upon France to the *Cultura Sociale*. But he felt he was far away from Positive Theology.

The Abbé Murri brought him back to it again: he introduced him to Father Semeria and Father Genocchi; and Abbé Morel at once felt himself on familiar ground. Father Genocchi placed his rich Scripture Library at his disposal; he often went there, and it was a joy to him to talk with open heart to this young priest, who

had become his friend, of all the fresh problems which were being raised in the domain of Theology through the development of the Sciences, of Historical Criticism, and of Exegesis.

That was where his business lay. Ever since he had seen springing up before his mind and conscience those new problems, he could not detach himself from them. An adaptation of Theology was necessary. How was it to be done, taking into account the very legitimate requirements of the modern mind and yet remaining all the while strictly within the bounds of Catholic tradition. Probably no one felt the necessity of such a task more than Abbé Morel, and at the same time the difficulties which it presented; no one understood better than he that to do useful work in this adaptation, there was need of dauntless spirits, who would dare to look the whole matter in the face, and saintly souls who would not suggest a single word which did not aim at bringing people to love GOD.

From Paris, his friends still kept him in contact with the intellectual movement which at that time was taking place around the Abbé Loisy, just elected professor at the *École des Hautes Études*. I will quote one of these letters, though it may be a little too youthfully optimistic; still it is a page of history; it shows the position which Abbé Morel's friends, and Abbé Morel himself, at this time took up, an attitude which later on he had appreciably to modify. M. X. wrote thus to Abbé Morel:—

“ M. Loisy's course of lectures <sup>1</sup> is frequented by both

<sup>1</sup> With regard to all that will be said about the Abbé Loisy, I remind the reader of my remarks contained in the preface. At the outset it is necessary to say that Abbé Morel and his correspondents did not



laymen and ecclesiastics. The course is exceedingly interesting and most suggestive, though M. Loisy makes it a matter of duty to remain upon purely critical ground, and never to touch upon Theology. He is at present beginning to comment upon the story of the Fall of Man, by means of a comparison with Babylonian legends. He brings to life again in a truly admirable way those primitive writings and old notions, so childish and so very remote from us on the one hand, yet brought so near by the religious and moral conceptions which are there set forth. I hope that by degrees we shall affect this method of interpreting history. Nevertheless it is not without its difficulties, and a certain number have been astounded at the way in which M. Loisy has interpreted the story of the Fall. We are accustomed to the theological method, which draws doctrinal conclusions direct from the Bible, and we do not understand it when some one shows, in the primitive meaning of the account, a conception which is but a germ, very indistinct as yet, of the later doctrine. Accordingly, to many M. Loisy appears to be a thorough-going rationalist, who removes from the Bible its whole dogmatic and religious character. It is annoying ; but it cannot be otherwise,

pretend to put forth definite opinions, and it would be unfair to make use of their impressions for or against anyone. With just reason the Abbé Loisy lately protested in the following terms against a book by M. Houtin: " With regard to that which concerns myself, I think however I ought to observe that he has somewhat abused certain interviews to which journalists have subjected me. I take no responsibility for any of those words which have been attributed to me, and I do not consider myself obliged to point out what in these various discourses, expresses either my thought or its misrepresentation." (*Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, November-December, 1906.)



because the idea of religious development, of the economy of Divine Revelation, and of the relative truth of the Bible does not penetrate at the first stroke into minds which are fashioned by Scholasticism, and are accustomed to take hold of Dogma *en bloc*, without considering what it contains, and without surmising that in every dogmatic conception there necessarily remains some degree of imperfection, a considerable symbolical element; and that this element has been capable of self-modification, and was much more imperfect when it was a question of application to minds which still were very little developed.

"When I see all this, I sometimes think of Origen's attempt to construct a synthesis of the Christian Faith and Greek Philosophy. I believe M. Loisy is doing the same thing to-day for criticism, and there may befall him in his lifetime, that which befell Origen after his death.

"To-day, as then, ideas will take their course, and synthesis will be made, by allowing the exaggerations and imperfections which are inevitable in a first attempt to fall away. The task which Origen undertook was not less difficult than that which must be accomplished to-day; why should we be less successful this time? This is how, in the midst of this movement of ideas, at times somewhat vexatious, in which I find myself, I preserve peace and confidence, remembering how the Church has seen many other evolutions, and that though she may perhaps adapt herself a little slowly to new requirements, yet she does so all the same and Theology will one day end in living on good terms with Criticism, when we shall have attained to a just delimitation of their respective domains. In fact, at this time minds

are not closed up as was the case some years ago, and up to the last lecture we followed M. Loisy without undue astonishment. That is a step forward already.

“We shall yet see others, and I hope, if it please GOD, we shall work for it. You will be able to do this very profitably if you are ever called upon to teach the history of Dogma, because, I believe that it is upon that ground far more than upon that of Biblical criticism that the most rapid progress will be possible. When we have taken better account of the uncertainty of the conceptions of the early Fathers upon those points which we consider to be of such fundamental importance to-day, we shall perhaps be less astonished at not finding a complete and exact idea of original sin in Genesis. For my part I shall have to labour next year in this direction. It will be difficult. And truly there is rather a heavy responsibility in thus making oneself more or less a director of minds upon questions that are so delicate. With GOD’S grace, I shall endeavour to do my best.”

Abbé Morel’s reply to this letter is very long and I cannot quote it entirely. It contains fewer reasonings and more facts than that of his friend. He takes account of the difficulties of the moment, and deplors the fact that the errors of speech of the new critical school should be refuted “with violence,” and in a spirit so unscientific. “Look,” he says, “at le Père F——, he is not content with publishing his articles in reviews, but he collects them together in book form and so ends in advertising those with whom he disputes. Yet another book full of information upon the psychology of belated scholastics of the twentieth century!” Regrettable also are the proceedings of

certain Protestants, who imagine that this movement is going to turn in their favour. Master of his own thought, Abbé Morel expresses himself with force:—

“I am told that a Protestant newspaper in Rome, *l'Evangelista*, spoke recently in terms of great praise with regard to M. Loisy, adding that Protestants were ready to receive him with open arms. These brave Protestants will have to lay in a stock of patience, if they imagine that history and criticism will serve for the purposes of Protestantism. Yes indeed, an adaptation is to be brought about in the province of history as in that of Philosophy: during this period of difficulty and hesitation, Catholics will have to expect defections. Whose fault is it if not of those who make so many efforts to arrest the work which has begun, and who represent it as being a Protestant infiltration? They want to compel Catholics to pass into a mould which is too narrow, and this or that person seeing this mould about to burst, has managed to believe that Catholicism is destroyed. For my part, from the mere reading of Harnack, it seems to me that criticism will make a clean sweep of all those who find themselves between the Church of Rome and the extreme left of Protestantism. Either Jesus Christ founded a Church, or He willed only an interior religion. If He founded a Church, the Catholic case is won, for the Roman Church alone in her organization and her Dogmas, possesses that regular development which a Church founded by Jesus Christ ought to possess. If it be otherwise, Christianity would become Liberal Protestantism, which may please certain chosen intellects, but is not sufficient for the ordinary man. . . . For your own sake I am very glad

that you have to labour at this new work. It is a difficult task, but I hope you will succeed in determining for yourself and for others, the noble lines of the building to be constructed. How many are the questions with regard to which I ask myself what I ought to think! Upon so many points I have been obliged to abandon those modes of thought which are styled 'traditional'; it remains for me to learn now what the Theology of to-morrow will be. I pray GOD to enlighten you, so that your labour may effect much good. May He make you daily more holy and bring you nearer to Himself, a necessary condition for a priest, if he is to do any good.

"Do you pray also for me, that my existence may also have its utility here below."

This devout conclusion quite naturally leads me to speak of the development of Abbé Morel's interior life, during his travels and his stay in Rome. One of the greatest charms of that life is that its development was so constant. In proportion as he advanced Abbé Morel became more and more a priest. In order to give some idea of this interior life, it will be enough to quote a few pages of his personal diary, in which he pours forth his soul in long converse with GOD.

The following is the meditation which he wrote upon the night of the 1st of January, 1901, at the moment when the twentieth century was beginning. "The Bells of Rome commenced ringing more than an hour before the twentieth century began. . . . I remained at my window for half an hour, listening to the sound of the bells and watching the clouds racing across the moon. At times there were light flakes of white through which the starlight passed, large thick



veils whose shadows had something mournful about them. Between the rifts in the clouds which were fashioned in fantastic and changing shapes, one could see the stars shining. How many clouds pass over a century and with what speed! Man himself is carried along like the torch which I saw just now being driven over the roofs by the wind. It was a feeble light, yellow and red, the remains of a merry rocket. It was not the peaceful and steady shining of the stars, as they hold their sway at infinite heights above the track of the clouds. Neither was it the gentle shining of the moon, which relieves the sight and invites to meditation . . . *pulchra ut luna*.<sup>1</sup> And for all that, the crowds—and who does not himself form a portion of the crowd?—press forward to gaze upon this ephemeral rocket; they rush after men, they listen to them and they applaud them. They think not to raise their eyes higher. Philosophers build up their systems, obscure torches which for a moment trace out their paths among the clouds. Do they think of Truth unchanging and eternal, whose gentle rays soothe the mind and warm again the hearts of men of good-will? What has the twentieth century in store for the Church? what for our country? what for me? how many years shall I behold? GOD knows. . . . Man's part is to employ for good the time which GOD allots him. GOD grant that I may make a godly use of the portion which remains to me."

I copy, so to speak, at random from his personal diary.

"O, my GOD, a priest ought to live united to Thee. He ought to do so in the first place because he is a

<sup>1</sup> Beautiful as the moon.



Christian ; he also ought to do so because he is by Thee commissioned to lead others to Thee. His mission is to cause Thee to be known and loved. How can he accomplish this unless, close to Thee, he imbibes courage and light ; if he himself neither knows nor loves Thee ! yet in the midst of all these travels, of the occupations which they thrust upon me, and of the distractions with which they surround me, I think but little of Thee. I pray badly, I ask nothing from Thee, I forget that Thou lovest me. Help me to get out of this sad condition ; take full possession of my mind and my heart."

" My life ought to be like to Thine, O my Jesu. Thou hast prayed, Thou hast toiled, Thou hast suffered. Teach me to pray to Thee. O that by prayer I might unite myself to Thee, and in union with Thee find light and power to continue Thy mission here below ! I ought to labour with Thee and for Thee. May Thy Providence direct me in the choice of my work. Thou hast suffered O my Jesu. I ought also to be ready to suffer for my own salvation, and in order to save others. I ought to suffer so as to be like unto Thee. . . . Many people ask me my impressions of Rome. In all my letters I must speak of monuments, ancient and modern, ruins and landscapes. But as to Thyself, O GOD, have I no impressions to communicate to Thee ? Ought I not to thank Thee for having brought me to stay for some months within this the Capital City of Thy Church ? I fear lest I have not profited by my sojourn here as I ought : help me to use well what time remains to me, so that later on the remembrance of Rome may be to me a power. . . . No city possesses so

many Christian reminiscences as Rome ; nowhere as in Rome can we touch with the finger that Divine power which animates Christianity. The Catacombs carry us back to the times of persecution ; in those subterranean cemeteries they have given places of honour to Thy Martyrs, O my GOD. The ancient Basilicas call to remembrance the faith with which Christians, profiting by the freedom gained at the price of their blood, built and adorned their temples. And, one after another, these centuries believed in Thee, and upon this sacred soil have left behind them monuments of their belief. How the saints have loved Thee here !”

And to preserve this devotional spirit, in Rome as in Paris, Abbé Morel afflicted his body with instruments of penance.

We see then with what sentiments, after a stay of six months, he left Rome to proceed to Austria, in order to continue his researches and to prepare himself further for the theological career which he was required to pursue.

Leaving Rome after the Easter Festival, Abbé Morel first of all visited Naples, Pompeii, Amalfi, and Paestum ; then, upon his return journey, Assisi, where he paid a long visit to M. Paul Sabatier, who was preparing upon the spot his studies upon S. Francis of Assisi ; Perugia, where he had an interesting conversation with Fracassini ; Ancona, Loreto, Rimini, Ravenna, and Bologna, the gracefulness and peacefulness of which he greatly admired ; Padua also, and Venice, which detained him three days. He arrived in Vienna at the beginning of the month of May.

He had barely taken up his residence when he directed his steps towards the Faculty of Theology, and

paid a visit to Prof. Ehrhard,<sup>1</sup> to whom he had a letter of introduction. Prof. Ehrhard welcomed him with kindness and delight; between them there very soon arose a sacerdotal friendship, which a community of ideas upon most theological questions, both preserved and strengthened. They saw each other every day, and Abbé Morel's diary is full of their conversations. "I listened to a course of lectures by Prof. Pölzl. . . . Prof. Ehrhard's lecture upon the Carolingians was worth far more; it was animated, evenly distributed, and the professor interspersed here and there reflections of general import as a means of exciting attention, and of training the mind. I have fulfilled certain University formalities, so that I am now duly inscribed as *Ausserordentlicher Hörer*<sup>2</sup> of the Theological Faculty. . . .

"After supper I went to call for Prof. Ehrhard, who conducted me to a meeting of the *Leo Gesellschaft*<sup>3</sup>. . . . Yesterday morning I listened to a lecture by Prof. R. upon Tradition and the Inspiration of Holy Scripture; the professor did not touch upon any of the questions in which I am interested; the students upon whom he called to recite did not shine. Prof. Ehrhard's Seminary is preferable; I went there yesterday afternoon. . . . In the afternoon, at the Seminary of Prof. Ehrhard, some interesting information was given upon the way to use ancient texts."

It was in the company of Prof. Ehrhard that Abbé Morel paid a visit to the Monastery of Melk, of which he ever afterwards preserved the most vivid recollection.

<sup>1</sup> Professor at the Faculty of Catholic Theology at Vienna, later on Bishop and Professor at the Faculty at Strasburg.

<sup>2</sup> A hearer "extraordinary",      <sup>3</sup> The Leo Society.—[E. J. I. D.]

“ The Prior awaited us at the station with a carriage and pair, which quickly took us up to the Monastery. . . . The actual building is a huge palace with seven courtyards, built in a splendid position, upon a rock which commands a view of the Danube. We had scarcely arrived when we were invited to a meal with the monks, who were preparing for supper, drinking beer and playing cards the while. . . . As soon as supper was ended we were conducted to our rooms and left to ourselves. I remained talking for some time with Prof. Ehrhard, walking up and down the room. On the morrow, after Mass and breakfast, the Prior enabled us to visit the Abbot's apartments, the picture gallery, which contains several paintings by Rubens and a few by Van Dyck; the collection of coins, the archives, the treasury, and the *Melker Kreuz*, a gold cross engraved in the fourteenth century, containing a relic of the true Cross. It is most beautiful and possesses great artistic value. We were afterwards conducted to the Emperor's apartments, which are richly furnished, then into a noble banqueting hall which opens out upon a terrace, from which there is a splendid view over the Danube, its tributary the Melk, and over the town and the country.

“ The terrace at the farther end adjoins the Library, which is installed in a superb hall with magnificent bookcases. A portion of the lower story is reserved for the numerous manuscripts which belong to the Abbey, the catalogue of which is only published in part. Prof. Ehrhard found several interesting volumes there, particularly one upon *The Legends of the Saints*.

“ Prof. Ehrhard is determined to see what can be got from these manuscripts. As soon as the meal was



over we set ourselves to work at them together, and to compare them with the records edited by Ruinart. We only left them at the time of the evening meal. After supper we went back to our manuscripts ; and I was sleeping soundly while Prof. Ehrhard was still toiling hard.

"Thursday being Ascension Day, we assisted at the High Mass which was sung by the Prior. . . . After Mass we returned to our manuscripts. I copied the Acts of SS. Theodore and Didymus. I had become sufficiently expert to read the manuscript almost unaided.

"As we had to descend the Danube again by boat, a carriage took us to the landing stage. . . . From Melk to Krems the banks of the Danube are splendid, especially at this time of the year. The sight enraptured me. A crowd of Hungarian or Slavonic women filled up the vessel between decks, lying down upon the deck or upon their bundles, in great confusion. They wore boots and short petticoats. They landed upon the left bank, a short distance above Vienna. A sort of fanfare preceded their filing off ; then we saw more than a hundred of these women disembark, each with an enormous white bundle upon her back. They had a few men with them ; two or three carrying crosses. These many-coloured costumes presented a curious effect. Just as the boat started off again, all these women went down upon their knees upon the shore."

Before leaving Vienna, after more than a month's stay, Abbé Morel went to see Prof. Ehrhard for the last time, and this is how he sums up his impressions. "In addition to two little brochures, Prof. Ehrhard



delivered to me a somewhat lengthy discourse upon the duties of a Catholic student. He expressed to me a desire to see the ideas contained in this discourse repeated in France. Prof. Ehrhard is not only a scholar, he is a man of action ; and I was very much touched to hear him ask me to associate myself with him in the movement which he is attempting to promote. His conversations in Melk, whether with myself or the monks, interested me keenly. It seems there are only 150 students in Vienna in Catholic associations ; this is indeed a small proportion out of 7000 students. And the rest are not indifferent but hostile. They applauded Wolf, when, at some festivity in honour of Goethe, he declared that 'There are three men who have won fame for us Germans, Luther, Goethe, and Bismarck !' and that took place in Catholic Austria, in Austria conquered by Bismarck."

Abbé Morel proceeded from Vienna to Berlin, visiting Prague on the way, the mediaeval style of which he admired. He halted in Dresden also for a few days, where he was much amused at the blustering conversation of a *Curé*, who otherwise was intelligent and well informed. "Of all the Germans I have known," wrote Morel, "no one has spoken to me of France with so much asperity and so little tact as Herr F—— and naturally he complained of the narrowness of mind of certain French priests who have the audacity not to be absolutely of his opinion. Herr F—— boasts of his experience and his wide reading ; on the other hand he has travelled little, but that does not trouble him. According to him, France, and particularly the French Revolution, is the cause of every evil which happens throughout the world ; further he justifies his allega-

tions by reasons which have nothing new about them, which are to be found everywhere in Germany, and are none the less debatable for all that. Carried away by his eloquence, on looking at a gold coin of Napoleon III, Herr F—— went so far as to exclaim: 'Why! your Napoleon was obliged to give up his sword to the Emperor William I!' And of course the *Curé* of the King of Saxony imagined he was fulfilling his duty in enlightening me upon the situation and correcting the false ideas which I had managed to bring with me from France. This poor France, which one day was unquestionably wrong in supporting German Protestants, is still culpable to-day in possessing the preference of the Pope, who favours her to such an extent as to be unjust towards other countries. Cardinal Rampolla is a Frenchman! And in France the churches are empty; at most we see in them a few women, whilst in Germany, in Westphalia . . . in Saxony! . . .

"However Herr F—— regards the future with a singularly pessimistic eye. He sees everything draped in black. And if everything goes wrong, the fault naturally lies with France. This pessimism of Herr F——'s, is it not simply the result of his prejudices and the peculiar situation of Saxony? The Catholics in Saxony, barely tolerated in the midst of a Protestant population, are like the Catholics in England seventy years ago. They chafe, one against the other and rekindle their passions, but they have no hope for the future. I believe that to despair of the future in either Saxony or France is to distrust Providence, and to measure the designs of Almighty GOD by the prejudices of Herr F——, as well as to encourage every kind of recoil and of cowardice."

Abbé Morel was scarcely installed in Berlin, when he began to regret that he had left Vienna at the very moment when his stay was about to be really profitable. "I ask myself," he wrote, "what purpose my visit here is going to serve. The city is but moderately interesting, I cannot gather much from the Theological Faculty, and I see hardly any manifestations of Catholic life. . . . After all Berlin is only the city where Harnack gives lectures; a few walks with Prof. Ehrhard would be worth much more to me." By degrees, however, he accustomed and adapted himself, and a few days later he wrote philosophically: "I discover, upon looking back, that both in Rome and in Vienna, I was at times but moderately satisfied, and yet the impression which remains with me to-day is excellent. I am conscious that my stay in those two cities, rapid though it was, has taught me much. Let us hope it will be the same with Berlin; even the losses of time and fruitless attempts are an education; they form part of my business as an explorer."

And he set himself to the task. He knew Herr Curatus Fischer, who introduced him to his friends, and two priests, orientalists of importance, Dr. Helm and Dr. Albert Sanda. What he desired above everything else was to attend the courses of lectures at the Protestant Theological Faculty, and to know Harnack. Father Pesch dissuaded him: "He appealed to his own experience and his travels with the object of showing me that Catholics have nothing for which to envy Protestants, and that in France especially, Catholics do not sufficiently distrust Kant's Philosophy". Abbé Morel could not well see how Kant's

Philosophy could trouble him in his study of the Fathers of the Church, so he did see Harnack. Harnack received him with cold courtesy, and authorized him to follow his course of lectures, and attend his own Seminary. That was all he wanted. He was an attentive listener, and though fully admiring Harnack's knowledge, he observed its limitations.

"This morning," he writes in his diary, "there was a lecture by Harnack upon the conversion of the English, the Bohemians, the Poles, and the Hungarians. There were a few remarks which were not very gracious with regard to the policy of the Holy See. . . . To-day the audience of Professor Harnack was very notably augmented.

"With reference to John the Presbyter, in whose name some letters were written in the West, in which he was given out as being the successor of S. John the Apostle, if not S. John himself, Prof. Harnack made the observation that we do not know any more clearly whether he who is seated at Rome *Was da sitzt* is S. Peter's successor, or an incarnation of S. Peter, or S. Peter himself." "This morning Prof. Harnack related the history of the Vatican Council. In his opinion, the Pope exerted pressure upon the bishops, by taking upon himself the burden of expenses incurred during their stay in Rome. In other respects Pius IX was but a poor pope, a feeble and irresolute personality. All the bishops in the minority submitted when once the vote was proclaimed. Prof. Harnack considers that this change of opinion is not to be judged too severely: these bishops had been brought up in submission to the Church, and would have considered themselves guilty of the greatest of



crimes if they had provoked a schism. Prof. Harnack reasons quite rightly there." "This morning Prof. Harnack expounded the Catholic doctrine concerning the Church. On the whole he is exact. Nevertheless he has a special way of understanding the doctrine according to which outside the Church there is no salvation. Heretics are outside the pale of the Church, although the Church maintains her control over them like the officers of an army with regard to deserters. She possesses over them the right of coercion ; she can punish them with the anathema, according to the syllabus, *and with the stake*, Prof. Harnack added. However all theologians do not mercilessly condemn every heretic. Certain writers, who are too few in number to enable us to say that their teaching is that of the Church, distinguish between material and formal heresy. A formal heretic is simply one who refuses to believe Catholic doctrine, when he knows it. He alone is excluded from salvation. It does not seem to occur to Prof. Harnack that it is entirely a matter of making quite sure whether a heretic is such by his own fault or no. Therefore, gentlemen, he concluded, refrain from studying Catholic doctrine too closely ; for from being material heretics you will become formal heretics, and you will be lost. This style is not scientific.

"Lectures on symbolism by Prof. Harnack upon the relations between Church and State according to Catholic doctrine. Prof. Harnack quotes in ready style from Encyclicals or the Syllabus. He takes special pride in making use of the official documents. He does not ignore others, however. Thus he has read a whole series of Jesuit writings, according to which we cannot believe, without danger of sinning, that



temporal power is unnecessary to the Pope. He has even seen a book of devotions printed with the permission of the bishop of Poitiers, in which strange pictures are to be found, which indicate a veritable cult of the Pope: for example, a boat manned by French soldiers, in which Christ is sleeping, while the Pope is at the helm, with the inscription: 'I sleep, but my heart is awake'; or again, the Pope crowned with the tiara, and his forehead bleeding, with the words *Ecce Homo*. It is true that in the last picture we behold the figure of Christ indistinctly appearing behind the Pope. The *Civiltà Catholica*, at the time of Leo XIII's election sent him an address, the translation of which Prof. Harnack has read all through; there, amongst other things we read: *Du bist Petrus*.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Harnack adds: Were not our Protestant ancestors right when they looked upon the Pope as Antichrist? . . . Prof. Harnack considers it revolting that the Church should arrogate to herself the right of annulling any law. He is shocked also at the pretensions of the Church with regard to doctrine. He acknowledges, however, that the Church is very logical with herself. If she is a State, a universal theocratic State, she indeed possesses the rights to which she lays claim. With her it is just the same as with other states: if we would comply with all her pretensions, there is no longer room for another State by her side. Thereupon Prof. Harnack abruptly rose.

"This morning Prof. Harnack delivered a lecture upon the Sacraments and the Holy Sacrifice in the Catholic Church. The sacrifice of the Mass, *vere propitiatorium*,<sup>2</sup> Prof. Harnack explained, possesses

<sup>1</sup> "Thou art Peter."

<sup>2</sup> "A Real Propitiation."

much less power than the Sacraments ; it cannot take away mortal sin. If the Church holds this so firmly it is because by this means the priest appears as Christ's Vicar and thereby gains enormous influence. *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*,<sup>1</sup> *die ganze Kirchlichkeit*<sup>2</sup> is a condition *sine quâ non* of salvation ; but this is not an adequate condition. If we are to believe Prof. Harnack, the Church has never affirmed that one who receives the Sacraments without impediment is sure of his salvation. For Prof. Harnack, the Church has altogether the appearance of being a mass of pharisaical observances in which there is neither spirit nor life. Such being his starting-point is it surprising that he understands nothing about the matter?

"Prof. Harnack's lecture was particularly instructive. The point in question was the Sacraments according to Catholic doctrine. I quote a few of his conclusions : the practice of Indulgences was conceived in order that the Church might not cease to keep the faithful within her hands. Otherwise, why does not the application of the Merits of Christ at the moment of absolution suffice? it is chiefly in France that books upon Indulgences are published. Extreme Unction can only be administered to the sick when they are still conscious, and only after confession and Communion. The deprecatory formula of Extreme Unction proves that it is not a Sacrament but a Sacramental. Neither is Holy Order a Sacrament ; we do not see by what means it sanctifies ; it requires no disposition. Marriage became a Sacrament by reason of a misapprehension due to the Vulgate,

<sup>1</sup> "No salvation outside the Church."

<sup>2</sup> "The being in complete accord with the Church."

which, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, calls it a *Sacramentum*. The Church declares that virginity and celibacy are preferable to marriage (laughter). Then why is there a Sacrament of Marriage and no Sacrament of Monachism? because the Sacrament of Marriage has provided the Church with a means of intervening in the most solemn act of moral and social life. The Council of Trent gave to the priest a position with regard to Marriage, which he never had before. The episode of the *Fiancés de Manzoni* shows what could take place according to the legislation before the Council. After this there was the question of the Sacramentals, of water, of bread, of hair, of bones, and of scapularies. An articulated teacher in a school one day replied to the following question by an inspector: what is pure water? Pure water is water which is in a state of grace. When we reproach Catholics in the matter of the cult of relics, they reply—we all preserve family remembrances and objects which have belonged to our loved ones. This is true, but the cult of relics goes much further. Catholics attach grace to the presence of a relic.”

This way of rushing through a subject so vast, of attributing to the Church everything which lies within the Church, of seeking to amuse one's audience and giving to a scientific instruction a controversial vein, was displeasing to Abbé Morel. He discovered here a Harnack very different from the author of serious books overladen with erudition. He wrote to one of his friends: “In listening to Prof. Harnack, we feel that he knows his history; but he allows himself to indulge in pleasantries of questionable taste. He knows the Catholic Church, but he has not caught

the meaning of Catholicism. Almost all the contradictions which Prof. Harnack pretends to find in the teaching of the Church are trifles of no importance. He is ignorant of those matters which to us appear most simple. There is hardly any question of the difficulties which seem so serious to Catholics."

Abbé Morel quitted Berlin without regret, and proceeded to Würzburg. Here he found again, as at Tübingen, a Faculty of Catholic Theology which was keenly alive, and whose professors were full of spirit. From the first he was attracted by the reputation of Prof. Schell, whose recent condemnation had caused some stir, and who had won the esteem of all by his attitude, at once so dignified and so Christian.

Being already known in Germany, and preceded by recommendations from Tübingen, Morel was received at Würzburg as a friend; the University was immediately opened to him, and he was permitted to follow the courses of lectures. He listened to all the professors, but he specially attached himself to Professors Schell and Merklé, whose teaching seemed to him to be more to the point, or better adapted to his own personal studies. Recognizing his value, both masters treated him as one of themselves. The pages of his diary relating to Würzburg are full of recollections of them.

"At 11 o'clock there was a course of lectures by Prof. Merklé. The young theologians have textbooks of history and are dispensed from taking notes; some of them had Prof. Funk's Manual before them. Prof. Merklé is interesting. He spoke about the Crusades, busying himself less with the detail of events than with general considerations.



“After supper, I met Prof. Merklé upon the Glacis ; we continued our walk together to the outskirts of the town. I conveyed to Prof. Merklé the compliments of Professors Zorell and Schermann. He told me that the number of theological students at Würzburg is no longer what at one time it used to be. The closing of the princely Seminaries at the time of the Kulturkampf had much augmented it. Afterwards came the Schell affair : it is true that if Schell’s reputation alienates certain students it attracts others. Prof. Merklé spoke in terms of great esteem of Prof. Duchesne, who holds his place at the head of the French school as nobody else has ever done, and to his knowledge adds plenty of animation. The story is told of how Prof. Duchesne, when commenting upon a German work about the Merovingian Saints, compared the author to a rhinoceros sorting out porcelain with his horn. Prof. Merklé acknowledged that even for Germans Prof. Schell is very difficult to understand.

“This morning, at 9 o’clock, there was the public lecture by Prof. Schell upon Nietzsche and Christianity. There was a considerable auditory. Prof. Schell speaks well : his numerous gestures are not always very natural. He explained how, according to Nietzsche, S. Paul destroyed Christ’s work in founding the Church. . . .

“At about 5 o’clock I presented myself at the house of Prof. Schell, who himself opened the door to me, in his shirt sleeves. After having slipped into a jacket, he chatted most pleasantly with me ; he spoke about Blondel and Loisy. The rector also received me with the greatest kindness, himself opening the door. He did not leave me much to say ; amongst other matters



he told me some very wise things with regard to the Faith, Theology, and Science. . . .

"Yesterday morning a lecture was given by Prof. Schell upon the Catholicity of the Church and her Organization. He says it is the business of the theologian and of Reason, to know when a decision of the Pope constitutes an infallible definition. We are not to suppose that the infallibility of the Pope dispenses us from using our reason."

By the end of July the summer had become very hot, and Abbé Morel, after a long journey throughout which he had freely spent himself, felt the need of a rest. He went to stay for a month in Dresden at the residence of Herr Infalt, who wanted to take a holiday, and whose ministry he undertook for a time. The artistic wealth of Dresden and the charm of the scenery around the town afforded him agreeable distractions which this time he enjoyed without thinking otherwise about Positive Theology.

But he was in a hurry to return to France. Setting out from Dresden at the end of August, he paid visits on the way, to Leipsic, Weimar, Eisenach with the Wartburg, Fulda, Frankfort, and Strasburg. It was not without a feeling of joyous emotion that he crossed the frontier and re-entered his country, which he had left more than a year before.

"At nightfall I was in Laveline. At the moment of crossing the frontier, the sun, which had remained hidden during the ascent, reappeared behind the tops of the trees which grow along the edge of the track. While the shadow was deepening behind me, I had the joy of seeing the light still shining upon the soil of France."

This long journey through countries which he had loved, and amid cities where he had found precious aids to his studies, had not detached him from France. Some time after his return he wrote to one of his friends : " At last I have returned, not without a sigh of relief, to our old country of France, which decidedly surpasses all the others. It is still amongst us that resources most abound, in the first place in the matter of money, and then there is here a more advanced and evenly distributed culture, more self-sacrifice, clearer understandings, and finally, more generous sentiments. An infallible means of appreciating France is to absent oneself from France for a while."

However, he had learned a good many things outside France. At one time he had an idea of making a synthesis of them, and of marking those points in which his personality had been developed and his mind enriched. What he wrote on this head begins as follows :

" A religious reformation has become necessary, but what precisely is to be done and what are the means to be employed? I have been to Italy, Austria, and Germany in search of the elements of an answer to these serious questions. I feel the need of pondering over what I have seen and heard in the course of my travels, of stating in accurate terms the teachings which are evolved, and of drawing from those teachings conclusions for the future. Naturally I have kept a diary of my journeys ; but I have only noted down in it facts, and here and there a few lines of reflection at such times as I experienced a peculiarly forcible or distinct impression. Underneath these fugitive sensations an almost unconscious work was little by little being accomplished, a sort of settlement, the results of which

are not to be found in my diary, because they do not date from this or that day in particular. Opinions were being formed with regard to individuals, institutions, and men. It should be a question of examining these opinions, of satisfying oneself as to whether they are well founded and up to what point they are so. Are they hasty generalizations springing some fine day from an accident which leads to nothing? or are they firmly rooted in reality and to be allowed the authority which is due to convictions that have slowly ripened? But is it so easy a matter to unravel the complexity of my impressions? Some philosophers of the present day, and notably Bergson, affirm that our knowledge of things is limited to that element in them which concerns our action; we leave on one side whatever we do not need for purposes of action, and, inevitably, the incomplete images thus formed are always more or less distorted; the proportions of reality are no longer preserved in these images. I have been given reason to hope that I shall become a theological professor: "accordingly I am prone to give exaggerated importance to questions connected with theological instruction. . . ."

After this serious beginning, Abbé Morel came to a stop, and he never again attempted to construct a synthesis of the impressions of his travels. He probably understood that the time for it had not yet arrived, that his training was not complete, his personality not yet fixed, and that before drawing up as it were a balance sheet of his ideas and determining exactly his attitude, he ought first of all to find his way. For that he relied upon Providence, and Providence was not to disappoint his expectation.

## CHAPTER VI.

### L'ABBÉ MOREL AT THE SEMINARY OF SAINT-VINCENT DE PAUL—TRAVELS IN ENGLAND.

ABBÉ MOREL arrived in Paris in October, 1901, more uncertain than ever perhaps, as to the direction he ought to allow his life to take. For two years past he had been given to understand that there was some hope of his obtaining a professorship at *l'Institut Catholique*, but as yet, circumstances did not allow of his being nominated, and he was advised to wait patiently for a good opportunity. He proposed therefore to install himself provisionally, and to continue his studies in Positive Theology.

After having knocked at many doors without success, he arrived one morning at the Seminary of Saint-Vincent de Paul, in the *rue du Cherche-Midi*, where the Superior, the Abbé Portal, cordially and gladly received him, and at once offered him a position which would allow him to wait, and which would recall to his mind the functions of the Tübingen tutors. He was entrusted with the duty of directing and supervising within the Seminary, the studies of the Abbés who were preparing for their degrees in Theology or Science. Abbé Morel was overjoyed, and he blessed Providence.

But he had not yet opened his valise, when a disconcerting letter arrived from the Bishop of Saint-



Dié. The Fathers of *Saint-Esprit* were leaving their College at Epinal, they were being replaced by priests of the diocese, Abbé Morel had been nominated mathematical professor, and would have to enter upon his duties in a fortnight. Abbé Morel was thunderstruck. So then the studies that he had been pursuing for three years, and the toilsome journey which he had just concluded, would not bear their fruit ; and after having abandoned Mathematics with regret, so as to enter upon the study of Positive Theology, he must go back again to them, at the very moment when his competence in Theology was about to be assured. His grief was profound ; but, accustomed as he was to allow himself to be led by Providence, he had not a moment's thought of refusing, nor even of complaining, or making capital out of the reasons which ought to retain him in Paris ; he simply got ready to set out for Epinal. Happily, the College at Epinal continued to act as in the past and there was no need of Abbé Morel's services. After a month of unrest, he was at last able, as he says in his diary, "to unpack his valise" and to take up his abode.

We must give an account of Abbé Morel's state of mind and the principal ideas which guided him at the time when he entered the Seminary of Saint-Vincent de Paul. He had passed through all the courses of instruction: Mathematics, Literature, History, Rational Theology, Positive Theology, and Philosophy, and with deliberate purpose he had garnered up the elements of each by a method of study which was strictly scientific. This method consists in substituting in everything fact for abstract, in gathering together a large number of facts before generalizing, criticizing them



with care, comparing and interpreting them. This method he applied to the direct observation of men and things : he had seen in Europe everything that could interest a man of study, and he knew the customs and procedure of the most celebrated universities and scholars. He knew foreign languages, particularly English and German, the languages of religious criticism, which he spoke and wrote fluently. Thus no work of importance concerning theological matters which might appear in England, Germany, or Rome could escape him. He was struck with the scientific inadequacy of the clergy in France and abroad, and, in company with all his friends in France, and with those whom he had encountered in Tübingen, Munich, Würzburg, Vienna, and even Rome herself, he was convinced of the necessity of an intellectual reform, just as others, whom he respected but did not follow from want of knowledge, were convinced of the necessity of a reform in pastoral operations. At the same time all his theological ideas were disconnected : he had abandoned all, or nearly all, his former positions, which did not appear to him to be "tenable" ; he stated all the religious problems in a novel manner with a boldness which in a few years he would find to be excessive ; and not without keen anxiety he asked himself what his theology of the morrow was to be.

He was thoroughly determined to make use of the materials that he had amassed, and his knowledge of languages, for clearing the ground of Positive Theology in a sound and scientific manner, for the reformation and training of priests, for the adaptation of the ancient Theology to new requirements, and for mak-

ing reply in a definite manner to the questions that he raised himself, and to those which were being raised around him, in a more and more disquieting way. But he would accomplish this multifarious undertaking slowly and soberly, without going out of his "Library," without seeking for fame or reputation; he belonged to that type of scholars of the study who epitomize the contents of folios, correct and annotate texts, and possess authority in the guest chamber. His stay at the Seminary of Saint-Vincent de Paul ended in profoundly transforming him.

At the time when Abbé Morel entered the Seminary of Saint-Vincent de Paul it had been two years in existence. It was founded for the purpose of accommodating a group of ecclesiastical students from *l'Institut Catholique* in Paris, the Seminary of the Carmelites having become insufficient. The small number of students, and the fine spirit with which they were animated, had made it possible to organize this house upon very broad lines, which was quite as much of the nature of a *Convict* as a Seminary properly called. Men worked there with spirit, without constraint and without melancholy. The Superior, the Abbé Portal, knew how to draw thither from time to time men of action and of celebrity, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, on their way through Paris, who would come and give to students in their turn, the sight and the lesson of an activity which is being exercised in real life. Accordingly there was no risk of forgetting concrete life in the atmosphere of books. Always an attentive observer, Abbé Morel took his share in the varied display; but he purposely kept himself a little apart, silent and in the shade.

In the more intimate life of the directors and tutors, he avoided at first all conversation upon those subjects with which he was chiefly preoccupied. He was content to produce his store of piquant observations and quaint stories, and to share them with every one, with that frankness and good-will which were so charming. He delighted us and astonished us. Geography, History, Heraldic Art, and Archæology had no secrets for him, and we used to say to him as a matter of course, "Abbé Morel, you who know everything". He positively did know everything, and with a degree of accuracy which boded ill to ordinary men who content themselves with approximate truth. He took a delight in sudden rectifications in details of no importance, which the average man neglects : if a geographer chanced to speak to us about Canada or China, we should learn from Abbé Morel that he did not know the Canadian railways thoroughly, or that he had mixed up two of the Yangtze-kiang tributaries. We learned finer things still. One day he informed us that the son of the Count of Paris is named Philippe after the father of Alexander ; and then with an ease that was quite disconcerting, he went back from Philippe of Orleans to Philip of Macedon, going through all the branches and all the intervening families.<sup>1</sup> These playful sallies of a mind which was capable of the highest speculations had an exquisite relish about them ; and those who have experienced those hours of recreation in which he so often delighted us will never forget them.

From the very first day, I mean from the day that it was resolved that he was to pass the year in Paris, he

<sup>1</sup> This fantastic production was edited and published in the *Univers*.

organized his work in a methodical manner. His time belonged in the first place to the students, and this is how he understood his duty as tutor. He wrote to one of his friends : " My occupations, though ill-defined, are nevertheless most absorbing. Each week I deliver a short address to the theological students ; one of my chief cares is to convince them that they do not understand the meaning either of the words they use, or of the propositions which they affirm. They appear most astonished when they are asked what they mean by such and such an expression. Certainly this does not form part of the work of the memory which is the one thing they have been in the habit of considering. The Science students encroach upon my time on account of the *colles*,<sup>1</sup> and the obligation under which I find myself of having to re-examine theories well-nigh forgotten, by reason of the explanations which they demand from me and the problems which they bring to view. You know how far the search for the solution of a problem can carry one."

Part of his time was absorbed by a regular contribution to the *Bulletin Critique* and the *Petites Annales de Saint-Vincent de Paul*.<sup>2</sup> The *Petites Annales*, modest review as it was, set itself the task of collecting together unpublished documents and promoting the study of S. Vincent and his work. But the Director very soon appended to his little review a

<sup>1</sup> Something of the nature of a term examination upon subjects studied in school, for which the College Director makes provision, and which is privately conducted by competent examiners with the object of ascertaining whether the pupils have understood the instruction given by the professor and have worked satisfactorily. *Colle* = a " catch question ".—[E. J. I. D.]

<sup>2</sup> " The little Annals of S. Vincent de Paul."



supplement of wider compass, which, without making any noise or promising anything, kept its readers in touch with theological movements. Abbé Morel wrote numerous articles for it under the rather vague and very innocent titles of *Publications Anglaises*, *Publications Allemandes*; in reality they were vigorous statements which dissected and analysed the most important of the new theological works of England and Germany. He began with an analysis of the book by M. Hogan, which was so appreciated, *Les Études du Clergé*; <sup>1</sup> he did not conceal the fact that he beheld in this work, so moderate in tone and so rich in new ideas, a veritable guide for the clergy. This was indeed the way in which the much-desired combination between the traditional and the modern mind must be attempted. The *Petites Annales* died very soon; it was an ephemeral journal for which we had great affection, which bore lilies upon its cover, and curiously enough was read with equal delight by the humblest of Sisters of Mercy and the most learned Professors of the Seminaries. Abbé Morel had found time to write articles in it upon *Le Catholicisme au vingtième siècle*,<sup>2</sup> by Mgr. Ehrhard, *Les Dissertations et Recherches sur l'histoire de l'Église*,<sup>3</sup> by Prof. Funk, *Morale Catholique*,<sup>4</sup> by Mausbach; *The Eucharistic Sacrifice*, by Dr. Mortimer; *The History of the Conception of the Mass in relation to Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, by Dr. Renz; *Holy Baptism*, by Dr. Darwell Stone; *Confirmation*, by Dr. Hall; *The History of the Greek Church*, by

<sup>1</sup> "The Studies of the Clergy."

<sup>2</sup> "Catholicism in the Twentieth Century."

<sup>3</sup> "Dissertations and Researches upon the History of the Church."

<sup>4</sup> "Catholic Moral Theology."



Dr. Hort; and *The Expansion of Christianity*, by Harnack.

At the same time that he was publishing these articles Abbé Morel occupied himself with one most important task, namely an edition of the *Pères Apostoliques*, with an introduction and a French translation. He also wrote an article upon *Le Baptême chez les Protestants*<sup>1</sup> for the *Dictionary of Theology*. Later on he had to write an article for the same *Dictionary* upon *La confession chez les Anglicans*.<sup>2</sup>

His ever restless mind sought the solution of those grave problems, which for some years he had been considering, and the thought of which had followed him throughout his travels to Rome, Vienna, Berlin, and Tübingen. He worked hard and he prayed, never separating work from prayer; he attended the course of lectures by the Abbé Loisy, upon the Gospel Parables, and from time to time he went over to Bellevue to ask questions of the celebrated professor. Certain points became fixed in his mind; but on the whole, he remained in a state of uncertainty; he did not yet see the broad outlines of the Theology of the future; and if he were destined to contribute towards their delineation, he had yet to discover the part he was to play, and to find his way.

Nevertheless his attention was being aroused, each day a little more, with regard to other questions, and, without suspecting it perhaps, another influence was being slowly brought to bear upon him, and was tending to detach him from the Speculative Theology which he loved, in order to draw him into a sphere of

<sup>1</sup> "Baptism among the Protestants."

<sup>2</sup> "Confession amongst Anglicans."

action which by itself would not have attracted him. This influence did not proceed from causes which can be easily defined ; it was rather the result of the air which he inhaled. Certain general ideas, common to the Abbé Portal and the friends who were intimately associated with him, constituted what one might venture to style the soul of the house. Yes, this house possessed a soul ; Abbé Morel was now in the course of discovering it, and he allowed himself to be penetrated by it.

Within the intimate circle of the directors he perceived that the Superior and his colleagues had a personal conception of the future of the Church, which they had not received from books, but from prolonged contact with reality. He learned how this conception originated. He himself began to enter into that great religious movement which some years before had agitated England, and to which hitherto he had been a stranger, without any suspicion as to its depth.

Animated ever since the beginning of the Oxford Movement by the need of union with the Mother Church, the Anglican Church had developed in the direction of Rome, and finding herself quite close to her, was seeking a ground of agreement and of reconciliation. Men of prudence were not wanting who professed to find this ground and to smooth the way ; but a new set of men in the Anglican Communion, upright and lofty souls convinced that they had the grace of Christ with them through the Sacraments and through the priesthood, repudiated all obscure negotiations and wished to effect a reconciliation in open daylight. They wished for a friendly intercourse between the two Churches, which might disperse doubts

and by the union of hearts make ready for the union of the Churches.

Now it happened that at the same time there were in France and in England, two men who desired this reconciliation and in the same manner understood the situation. Providence had brought them together and united them in close friendship; they believed that they had thus an indication of GOD'S Will, and they set themselves to the task. I have not here to write a history of the movement which was set in motion in France and in the Roman Church by the brochure of the Abbé Portal upon *Ordinations Anglicanes* and by the *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, which he founded and directed; nor have I to describe the similar movement which Lord Halifax carefully fostered in the Anglican Church, by his addresses and by his personal activity. It would require a whole volume, and perhaps some one will resolve to write it, in order to tell the story of those doings, that series of events which has all the characteristics of real drama. When we look closely at it we are struck with the amount of good-will and loyalty which was exhibited by both parties; we recognize with emotion that all Anglicans and Romans ardently desired to be brothers in Christ, that they prayed before writing or acting, that at one time they believed their dream to be realized, and were broken-hearted when that dream was shattered.

We assert also that such abundant merits cannot be lost. And as a matter of fact, this evolution of the Anglican Church towards Unity, which for a moment was arrested, has continued and does still continue because it is in the regular sequence of things, and

union when it has been so long and so sincerely desired, becomes a logical necessity.

The Abbé Portal acquainted Abbé Morel with this state of affairs ; he spoke to him of the moral condition of the Church of England, and outlined before him the portraits of the principal Anglicans who had worked with him, and still laboured for union. Abbé Morel experienced an emotion similar to that which he had felt in the presence of Mr. Griffith, that young priest so full of devotion who sought to understand the claims of the Roman Church, and had opened out his heart to him with so much confidence. But this time it was not the soul of one single individual which he saw before him ; it was so to speak the soul of an entire Church, which he must know and love. He felt himself attracted and conquered ; those theological problems which had been raised in France through the curiosity of exegetists and philosophers passed to the second level ; there was the Church ; there were the Churches ; and there was the possible action of one Church over another Church for the bringing about of Unity. This problem raised in full life was more impassionating, because it embraced more reality. Abbé Morel brought his year of reflection to a practical issue by setting out for England in the month of June, 1902.

This journey was very different to all those which he had undertaken hitherto. There was no longer any question of studying a language, nor even of making inquiry with regard to the teaching of Positive Theology ; it was a question of seeing men's minds, of getting below the surface of Christian consciences which were not Roman, and of rendering an exact



account of the historical and theological position of a Church, which up to that time he had regarded as Protestant and which professed to be Catholic.

He was amazed. He met again his friend Mr. Griffith in London, desirous as ever of union; above all he entered into relations with leading men in the Anglican Church. He spent a fortnight under Mr. Lacey's roof at Madingley; he knew Father Puller, Mr. Athelstan Riley, and Mr. Birkbeck, who astonished him and excited his curiosity by his information with regard to the Russian Church. Finally, he brought his journey to a close by a stay at Hickleton with Lord Halifax. There it was, as he says himself, that he understood the religious history of the preceding ten years, and really felt that union was necessary and that it would be achieved. Observant and meditative, living above all in an atmosphere of reflection and devout prayer, Abbé Morel was captivated by this Christian gentleman, who carried such nobility into his faith, whose constant and unwearied activity on behalf of the Church was but the radiation from his inward life, and who, with a lofty and generous outlook, brought into his daily relationships that simplicity, that rare grace and temper of mind which, in our vanity, we regard as the special qualities of our own race.

"The more I see of Lord Halifax," wrote our friend, "the more I recognize his extreme goodness and unlimited devotion to the work which he has in hand. When I hear Catholics say, believing that they are doing Lord Halifax great honour, that no one could dispute his sincerity, I assure you I feel ready to sink into the ground. It is almost as if one were to come and tell



me seriously that such or such a friend of mine had never assassinated anyone. I do not think anything could make one feel so strongly what a misfortune schism is, as the sight of such a soul separated from us. . . . Lord Halifax is not much preoccupied with the objections which detain Father Puller. As a matter of fact, it is not the refutation of objections which is able to advance matters. Those who have understood what an immense benefit the end of schism would be, make short work of objections. They keep their eyes fixed upon the goal, and in their desire to reach it, they do not stop over the details of the road. The most useful work is to create a feeling that reunion is necessary, and that it will certainly be accomplished. When once that idea is put into people's heads, all will be done. How free from abstractions one gets by living with Lord Halifax !”

By means of numerous conversations with his host Abbé Morel got to understand the position which Anglicans take up. “Our chiefs,” Lord Halifax told him, “were one day embroiled with the Bishop of Rome ; they were two families which separated from each other, but remained united at their common source, in Christ. Controversies followed upon this separation and engendered hatreds ; there were wrongs on both sides. Moreover, each of the two families evolved in different directions, following its own character and its own proper logic in such a manner that, after several centuries, they have the appearance of being very different. But see how, after feeling the need of a reconciliation, for the last fifty years we are proceeding to diminish the distance which separates us from Rome ; a considerable amount of work has

been done, reconciliation draws near. But how will it be brought about? By the progressive crumbling away of our Church? that would take a long time. And besides individual conversions, instead of hastening on the day of reunion, will perhaps only retard it by accentuating the conflict. If I did not believe in our Orders, I would not remain where I am for an instant. To seek to take our brethren from us one by one, would not be an eirenical proceeding on the part of your Church; it would be to offend, as it were, the sense of family unity; children follow their father.

“Union will be accomplished from above, by the chiefs and in a body; when the two families are reconciled, the children will be glad to recognize each other, to pray and to communicate at the same altars. That hour will come when our hearts are ready, when, leaving on one side all thought of self-interest and self-love, we are willing to forget our old quarrels, to pardon our mutual wrongs, and give the hand to one another. The way to work for reunion is to prepare the hearts for it, to get these separated brethren to know each other, to understand each other, to respect and to love each other.”

These Christian conversations, of which I have given but a vague summary, penetrated into the soul of Abbé Morel, and, by the end of his stay, explained to him all that he had seen and heard. He derived real benefit from his journey.

However, it will not be without profit to quote a few passages from his private diary and his correspondence, in order to make it understood by what slow and sure steps he attained to this clear view of things.

The day after his arrival at Cambridge his host Mr.

Lacey took him to a reunion of former students at the Theological College of Ely. This College, founded by Anglicans as a sequel to the "Oxford Movement" and the "Anti-Protestant" reaction in the bosom of Anglicanism, is a veritable Seminary to which the future ministers<sup>1</sup> go for one year, after having finished their studies at the Universities, in order to be trained for their mission. "A celebration of the Holy Eucharist was very solemnly sung. The laity were not very numerous, but on the other hand there was no lack of clergy. There were five or six bishops, without counting a Greek Archimandrite. An imposing procession went to meet the Bishop of Ely at the door of the Cathedral; they carried processional crosses and banners, and the clerical members wore their academical hoods over their ample surplices. They proceeded slowly, singing an English version of the *Exurgat Deus*<sup>2</sup> to a mode of plain-song. Mr. Lacey remained close to me and put into my hands a Prayer Book, and I had also the little printed sheet containing the Canticles and hymns to be used throughout the day. Mr. Lacey sang himself, sometimes preferring the ancient Latin words to the English translation. The clergy made their communion after the Bishop of Ely, fasting, and in both kinds. A second procession completed the ceremony.

"I had time after lunch to notice the extreme variety of the Anglican ecclesiastical dress. They were all in black, and all wore a kind of Roman collar. The majority wore short cassocks, but a good number had a hood over the cassock as in France. The lunch took place in a large tent: there were three parallel tables,

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Ministers.

<sup>2</sup> "Let GOD arise," Psalm LXVIII.

the high table being at the end. More than three hundred clergy were present. I was placed between Mr. Lacey and Mr. Griffith. After Grace, which was said by a young ecclesiastic upon a signal from the Bishop of Ely, the toasts commenced, and first of all the aforesaid Bishop raised his glass to the health of *Church and King*. Addresses followed: The Principal of the College was a great success; unfortunately I could not understand his sallies, but I understood that he was greeting the episcopal visitors, and expressing his delight at the presence in the assembly of one, the Abbé Morel, who represented the Gallican Church, and of the Archimandrite of Corfu who represented the Greek Church. All present looked towards the above mentioned and applauded. The Archimandrite, who wore a coffee-coloured robe, a gold cross, and whose head was covered with a black coif of cylindrical shape, rose in his turn and spoke in excellent French. He spoke of the desire for Unity which was manifested on so many sides, notably on the side of the Bishop of Rome. Unfortunately Leo XIII demands submission, and the Church of the seven Œcumenical Councils does not thus understand matters. The Archimandrite expressed his delight at the good relations between the Anglican Church and the Orthodox Eastern Church. According to him the former is an offshoot of the latter, an offshoot which took root in its turn and became strong enough to live its own proper life. One does not see very clearly what the Anglican Church owes to the Orthodox Eastern Church. The Archimandrite concluded by raising his glass to the union of all Christians."

As a result of this first ceremony Abbé Morel wrote



thus to a friend: "All this leaves upon me an impression at once sad and comforting. We realize more what a misfortune the schism has been, when we see with what pains certain Anglicans at the present time succeed in more closely approaching the ancient Catholic traditions. Those of the extreme right are prepared to accept the Council of Trent and that of the Vatican, though perhaps interpreting them somewhat after their own fashion. Unhappily, between the extreme right and the extreme left, is all the distance between Catholicism and Calvinism."

After having studied the University of Cambridge in detail, Abbé Morel quitted Mr. Lacey, whose charming welcome he could never forget, and betook himself to Oxford. He there encountered Dom. Vercesi, the editor of the *Osservatore Cattolico* of Milan, a friend of several years' standing, who like himself was making a study of religious England. They made common stock of their items of information and both declared that they had gained by this alliance. Thanks to the kindness of M. Athelstan Riley, who constituted himself their guide for several days, they were able to view the University at close quarters. Abbé Morel was particularly struck with the excellent organization of the university colleges; he found again his dear *répétiteurs* of Tübingen in the person of the *Fellows* whose functions are identical; the *Fellows* welcomed him with as good grace as the *Repetenten*, and he was not backward in asking them questions upon all matters which interested him.

Among the Cowley Fathers at Oxford he remarked a number of details which reminded him of Rome; he was present at a High Mass at S. Barnabas "with



Deacon and Subdeacon, in red vestments, a ceremony which much more resembled a Roman Mass than anything he had seen up to that time." To one of his friends he wrote: "Your remembrance followed me while I was reading again during my stay here, the book by Thureau-Dangin upon the Catholic Revival in England and the Oxford Movement. The Finger of GOD reveals itself in this story. Read the book; it will do you good and provide you with information upon the religious condition of England. It is true that he stopped with the year 1845, and that the book cannot tell you of the progress which Catholic ideas have made in the bosom of Anglicanism since then. . . . Yesterday, moreover, I paid a visit to Dr. Sanday, one of the Divinity professors and Canon of Christ Church. He was educated in that school of thought which is known as Evangelical, that is to say in Protestant tendencies. But now he has become *High Church*; his historical studies bring him into close touch with us, and in a public sermon he has expressed the desire for reunion. I was speaking about him to an Anglican priest in the house where I am staying, who is himself very well informed upon Christian antiquity; he considers that this evolution is natural for all those who study the History of the Church." I am going to quote the conclusion of this letter because it shows with what priestly feelings he watched this evolution of the Anglican Church: "We are all upon earth in order to continue Christ's mission, that is to say to take part in the realization of the purposes of the Divine goodness with regard to the world. The priest's office continues more directly that of the Divine Saviour Himself, but every man has his appointed part to ac-

comply in the great work. The labours of all and the sufferings of all help to build up the edifice. And those who have the hardest part, and from whom GOD demands the most, are unquestionably those whose lot is the most enviable." How one feels that this priest would be happy to suffer in order to hasten the day of reunion!

From Oxford Abbé Morel made his way to London, where, upon several occasions, he again met his friend, Mr. Griffith, before proceeding to Hickleton, to stay with Lord Halifax. They resumed their former conversations. "We conducted Dom Vercesi to the omnibus, and I accompanied Mr. Griffith along the Richmond Road. We were talking of the religious situation. 'GOD alone knows how it will end,' concluded Mr. Griffith. I feel crushed under the impression of this conversation. O why must it be that all those who love Almighty GOD and believe in Christ the Redeemer should not be able to pray together?"

He saw other priests besides who were as near to Rome as Mr. Griffith. "I went this afternoon to Shoreditch. There I had Evensong, Sermon, and Benediction. At Benediction we sang *O Salutaris, Litany of the Saints, Tantum Ergo, Divine Praises, Laudate Dominum*, all in English. The altar was lighted up. I had supper afterwards with the vicar, the two curates, and a young layman. These gentlemen consider themselves sufficiently *Catholic* to speak freely of the Anglicans. The only thing that keeps Mr. Evans, the vicar, within the Anglican Communion, is the pontifical decision with regard to Anglican orders; he finds it is not in accord with his intimate experience.

At S. Michael's, Shoreditch, they follow the order of Westminster. I had in my hand the Breviary belonging to one of the curates. The *proper* for English dioceses is found there, together with prayers for the conversion of England. Mr. Evans flatters himself that his people are well instructed in religion. . . . Two young girls were in adoration before the Blessed Sacrament before Evensong; they had exchanged their hats for veils of white muslin. A little lamp was burning before a statue of our Lady, which caused a great stir in London some years ago. At the choir-screen, an image of our Lady of Perpetual Succour was to be found, and a picture of the Holy Face on the side of a pillar. If I understood him correctly, Mr. Evans believes himself to be under the obligation of celibacy in obedience to Canon Law."

But it was not upon these things that Abbé Morel grounded his hopes of union; two years before he would there have seen hopes of conversion. Now he asked himself whether the resemblances between the Anglican Church and the Roman Church must not be understood in some other way. His ideas are summed up in a letter which he wrote from Hickleton to one of his friends a few days afterwards; we must be allowed to quote it in its entirety.

"It is two months and a half since, for a twofold reason, I crossed the Channel. First of all I wanted to make use of my last months of liberty, pending the commencement of the scholastic year, in seeing the working of the English universities. They begin their vacations early, both at Oxford and at Cambridge, and on my arrival on the 26th of May, I saw everything just at the time of examinations. . . .

“Also I wanted to see the Anglican Church upon the spot. Time was, not so very long ago, when the clergy used to leave to a few amateurs, the care of occupying themselves with Theology. They used to spend four years at the University; there they would annotate Homer and Sophocles, Plato and Virgil; and one fine day, after an insignificant examination, some bishop or other would ordain them deacon and priest. Things have indeed changed since the Oxford Movement; and they are still changing. We find young men who, after the classical courses which procure them their degree of Bachelor of Arts, remain at the University for one or two years in order to follow the lectures in Divinity, and after that spend a year in some Theological College, where they lead the life of a seminarist—English—where they make their half-hour’s meditation, are present at the daily Mass, recite Prime, and the rest of the hours up to Compline, and occupy themselves in preparation for the ministry which awaits them. Then, the year being completed, having become deacons, they go to some well-ordered parish to assist the clergy and to finish their apprenticeship before being ordained priests.

“The first day of my stay in England I was present at the Annual Reunion of the old scholars of the Theological College at Ely. . . . This was the first manifestation of life which I had witnessed in the Anglican Church. Although forewarned, I was a little surprised. Since then I have seen others, and of more than one kind, and if I return to France more than ever persuaded of the necessity of a supreme authority—and a doctrinal authority—I shall also carry away as a result of my travels, respect and admiration for many of the members



of the Anglican clergy, to say nothing of the laity. And I shall come back convinced that it would be a work of first importance to instruct our Catholics about that which is Christian outside their own house. That which divides Christians more than anything else is our misunderstandings. I suspected that before coming here. Only when one has met upon the road souls who love GOD with all their might, and who employ their lives with a devotion that has no limits in doing good according as they understand it, when in place of abstract considerations one has living realities before one's very eyes, one understands and says to oneself that there is here something to be done. . . .

"Lord Halifax is perhaps an exceptional man, I admit it. Nevertheless, here is a man who employs his time and his position in reanimating in all its forms the religious life within the Anglican Church, and who, on the other hand, desires nothing so much as reconciliation with Rome. He believes in the Divine right of the Popes; but he is persuaded that if it is the duty of the bishops to put themselves in order with the chief of the bishops, the duty of the laity is to follow their bishop. Of course, a man who goes to Mass every morning has not the least doubt as to the validity of Anglican ordinations. But he is not the only one to think in this way. And among those who are not disposed to acknowledge the Divine institution of the Papacy, there are many who at least find that the Reformation has been but a Deformation, and endeavour with all their power to revive the Ante-Reformation Anglican Church, with her beliefs and her Liturgy.

"Sometimes, they put into it a zeal which to certain people appears puerile. I find that these puerilities



are most serious; they are the signs of a powerful force to which we cannot give too much attention. I am not ignorant of the fact that there are Dissenters in England who are separated from the official Church; alongside of the party called Catholic there is a Protestant section at least as numerous. What follows then? It is certainly not likely that all Englishmen, even all the members of the Church of England, will come over to us *en bloc*. But is it that we must not expect, in a more or less distant future, anything better than individual conversions? No. The future is with GOD, with GOD who for more than sixty years has evidently been moving the Anglican Church. Who knows whether the *Established* Church will not some day be *Disestablished*? Disestablishment has already been spoken of, precisely because the two tendencies opposed to each other continue to accentuate themselves more and more, and who knows whether, the tree having lost the support of the State, we may not see the heaviest branch, that which is most full of sap, fall to the side of Rome?

"I ought to add that I do not ignore the existence of 1,500,000 Roman Catholics in England, and the fact that I have met more than one of them within two months. They are generally very timid folk, and accustomed to consider as *diabls*, *diablesses* and *diablotins*, anyone who does not conceive of everything exactly as they do. They are just as ignorant of Anglicanism as the French are. They are in other respects very zealous priests and very pious lay folk. This description does not apply to Wilfrid Ward, nor above all to Baron von Hügel, nor to W. Gibson. I have had conversations with these gentlemen, as also

with Father Lucas, and I have some hope of seeing Father Tyrrell before I wend my way back again to the beautiful country of France, of Paris, and of the Vosges. . . . Pray for me, that I may not have less fervency than an Anglican in putting all my powers into GOD'S service."

Finally, if there is the desire to know the entire conclusion of this journey of Abbé Morel's, we must quote a passage from a letter which he wrote to the Abbé Portal after his return to France, and another letter which he received from Father Genocchi.

"I am longing to have a conversation with you about England and the English," wrote Abbé Morel. "The day before yesterday I received a delightful letter from Lord Halifax. He is always full of confidence. And to be sure, if we cannot foretell a fixed term for the reunion of the Churches, it is sufficiently clear that Providence is making ready the way, and that Lord Halifax and his friends are the instruments of that work. How mean theological quarrels seem, when we see that it is purely a question of words which, in spite of themselves, separates people who positively believe the same dogmas and desire good with their whole soul. People ask me if I will write about England. How can one produce by writing an impression which reality alone can give? It would be necessary to cite facts, to give details, and to publish that which could not be made public. What I do wish is, that many may be able to see what I have seen; they will then be convinced."

Father Genocchi, with whom he had shared his sentiments, replied to him with enthusiasm: "It is high time for me to declare and to preach that there exists

a section of Anglicans whose members are more thoroughly Christian than we are, that their Catholic spirit is not far short of the perfection required, not by theologians, but by sound ecclesiastical tradition, and that we are doing positive harm in barring their way back to Rome by our curialistic and mediaeval trifles. They accuse me of an exaggerated 'Anglophilism'. Your experiences, so similar to my own, console me all the more because French people find it so difficult to overcome their national antipathies."

We see then that Abbé Morel on returning from England was transformed, or rather he was aware of the need of transforming himself. A new idea engaged his attention, the idea of the reunion of the Churches. This idea tended to absorb him little by little and to take precedence of his preoccupations with respect to theological problems.

## CHAPTER VII.

### L'ABBÉ MOREL, PROFESSOR.

AT the conclusion of the vacation of 1902, Abbé Morel's position was to undergo a change, and he was to be put in charge of a course of instruction at *l'Institut Catholique* in place of le Père Largent, professor of Patrology, who had just resigned, and had been elected honorary professor. Everybody desired his nomination, and a friend of Abbé Morel's, in a letter which he wrote to him, shows very clearly what its meaning would be for the group of which he was becoming more and more the centre. "Need I tell you how pleased I am with this nomination, both for your sake and for that of the students of the Theological Faculty? You will in that way go on to specialize, a condition which has now become necessary, after the general studies that you have made so completely, and your instructions thus prepared will no doubt produce much fruit. I only hope that in the name of a too suspicious orthodoxy they will not unduly fetter you. For the rest, your wisdom up to the present time is of such a nature as to be reassuring to timid minds, and I doubt not that you will succeed in giving to your instruction that frankly progressive orientation which is befitting, without on that account bringing difficulties upon yourself. Your degrees and the duration of your preparatory studies will, I think, assure

to you an authority which will allow you to exercise a salutary influence, even upon the council board of the Faculty. Rest assured in any case that I shall pray for you and for the useful work that you are about to do."

But matters did not proceed without difficulties, and it was in a very detached tone that Abbé Morel wrote to his kinsman, M. Noël: "They are everlastingly asking who is going to take le Père Largent's place. Nothing is yet decided. . . . They have certainly recommended the eventual professor to begin to think about his future lectures. But this professor, being accustomed to the changes of mind of governing bodies, and little anxious to put himself prematurely to the expense of costly books, has taken care not to be in a hurry. He had thought of speaking about the Apostolic Fathers. But behold it is proposed to translate 'Patrology' by 'Positive Theology'. Then he said to himself that he might perhaps talk about Holy Baptism, and discuss the doctrinal history of that Sacrament; he considers that in a question where Dogma is so definite, there would be nothing of such a nature as to disturb the repose of those who take offence at the expression 'Positive Theology!' And, rightly or wrongly, he imagines, that without much trouble, he could circumscribe and explain his subject, a transaction which would not be without immense difficulties if he were to treat of the Holy Trinity or the Incarnation."

Having been put forward by the professors of the Theological Faculty, Abbé Morel was nominated master of lectures in Patrology at the beginning of November. It was at first thought of prescribing "Positive Theology," then that expression was aban-



doned, leaving to the professor freedom of choice as to his lectures. "Yes, indeed," wrote Abbé Morel on the following day, "I ought to be grateful to Providence, but I must above all pray to be guided. The satisfaction of having done with those uncertainties which for many years have weighed upon me has quickly caused some of the difficulties of the task to disappear from view. . . . I think of beginning on Thursday 27th. I shall give out that during the first half year I shall treat of Baptism according to the Fathers. This first half year will be extended for as long as the matter requires, the whole year if necessary. That will be Patrology, and it will also be Positive Theology, because I intend to lay far more stress upon the doctrinal history of Baptism, than upon its liturgical history. The work of preparation will be considerable; but by the end of the year I expect I shall be able without difficulty to find my way through all the literature of the first centuries. I shall be acquainted with good editions and important works, and after that the work will be easier and more rapid."

When congratulating him upon his nomination, one of his friends indicates the end which he was proposing to attain, and which all his friends confidently expected that he would attain.

"I rejoice on your account at the thought that you must now be fairly embarked upon a path in which you will be able to render great services and contribute in great part, whether by direct instruction or by the special studies which you will be led to make, to the progress of the religious Sciences. . . . Better than anyone else you will be able to initiate the students into sound historical methods, and better than anyone

else also you will be able to help them to re-establish, upon a more solid basis, the intellectual edifice which a scientific study of Christian Antiquity necessarily disturbs. Having been obliged to construct for yourself a synthesis of your own beliefs and your scientific knowledge, you are more fitted to understand men's needs, and to give them satisfaction, than those professors who have never known any other state of mind than that which is engendered by Scholasticism. It is from this point of view particularly, that you will have it in your power to do a most profitable work, and I doubt not that you will succeed, however delicate this action upon the minds of men may be. Believe that I shall aid you as much as I can with my prayers. I know also that I can count upon yours, and is not that the best testimony to our friendship and the most efficient one that we can mutually give each other?"

Abbé Morel's friends were not deceived in their expectations concerning him. To this new task he gave all his powers. "It is a very fine thing to be a professor," he wrote to his kinsman, "but I assure you that even when one gives only one course of lectures a week, the profession is no sinecure. The preparation for my lectures takes up the best part of my time. When one wants to verify all the texts that one quotes, and to be thoroughly assured of the meaning that the author puts upon them, one does not accomplish it by simply '*ruenchi*'<sup>1</sup> the quarto volumes of Migne. I admit that if it takes long it is most interesting, and particularly so because, instead of keeping oneself to abstract ideas, passed on from one genera-

<sup>1</sup> *Patois Lorrain* signifying *remuer*, *secouer* possibly equivalent to "rummage through".—[E. J. I. D.]

tion to another, one sees how each author has made Tradition his own and kept it alive. Where one began by seeking only for theologians, one finds men, and amongst those men, a religion which is much the same as our own. . . . My audience is composed of seven or eight students out of about twenty who constitute the Theological Faculty. If this continues it will be splendid. They find me cold ; that is the result of my temperament and also of the haste in my preparation ; let us hope that I shall be able to remedy this by degrees."

Yes, they found him cold, and in reality he was so. His melancholy Vosgian temperament, a certain degree of timidity, and a real modesty which prevented him from attributing great importance to his work, all contributed towards rendering his utterance hesitating and somewhat tame. The pupils, who knew of his capabilities and his scholarship, expected to see a brilliant professor, who would impress their minds with new considerations and original syntheses ; they were disappointed. The professor did not attempt to use smart hits, and he sedulously avoided all synthesis. But, starting from the Gospel, and reaching up to the Middle Ages, he massed together all the texts from the Fathers relative to Holy Baptism ; after having thoroughly verified them, he presented them to his pupils, discussed them, and endeavoured with them to establish their true meaning. They expected a conclusion ; they even demanded it from him sometimes ; he had no other conclusion to offer, than the accurate knowledge of the meaning of a phrase. Thus throughout the whole year, with a certain tardiness which was rather dull, and with a security that left no

room for the imagination, he presented his audience with a series of *fiches*<sup>1</sup> upon the history of Holy Baptism. Being little accustomed to this kind of thing, some theologians thought and said that the new professor was not interesting ; others, however, even more numerous, discerned the meaning of this method. They understood that we study nothing in the abstract, that a Sacrament is a living and concrete reality of which it is necessary to give the history from its institution, that Theology is not a system ready-made which we receive from a master, but must be sought among the men who have elaborated it by degrees ; and that this study, if it is to be scientific and to count for anything, must be based upon a diligent and loyal criticism of texts. It was Patrology, inasmuch as Morel taught how to read the Fathers and proved clearly that the theologian can do nothing without reading them, and it was Positive Theology, inasmuch as this instruction was just as realistic as a course of lectures in Experimental Science.

What remains then of this course of lectures upon Holy Baptism? A bundle of *fiches* to the number of 400 which I cannot recapitulate here ; all I can say is, that each *fiche* contains a Greek or Latin text, copied out at full length, followed by the exact reference, and an indication as to the works which would be of use in determining the meaning. What does not remain is the discussion, the criticism which Abbé Morel made of them before his pupils, the interpretation which he proposed, and the theological signification that he evolved from them. They are notes without life and

<sup>1</sup> A card or slip of paper upon which Abbé Morel wrote a text with which he was concerned in the course of his study.—[E. J. I. D.]



without apparent order : nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that they would form a solid basis for a treatise upon Holy Baptism.

During the second year Abbé Morel lectured upon the Holy Eucharist. On the 29th of November, a few days after the beginning of the scholastic year, he wrote to a friend : " As a matter of fact I am occupied in lecturing upon the Eucharist this year ; my pupils are few in number (ten or twelve) but I have some good ones among them, who are thoroughly prepared and determined to make a serious study of Catholic tradition. I am myself becoming more and more acclimatized to the atmosphere of the Fathers ; I am becoming less of a stranger to their state of mind, and I find more and more that, in spite of differences which lie upon the surface, their religion is indeed my own. I thoroughly believe that, with regard to the Eucharist, the main difference between them and us is more of a practical than a speculative nature. With them, in fact as by right, the Eucharist was indeed the centre of religion. With us, not by right but in fact, the Mass has lost a little of its meaning and of the place which belongs to it. The faithful occupy themselves with too many devotions."

In the course of this second year, Abbé Morel modified his method ; a part of the conference was devoted to an explanation given by one of the students of a subject complementary to that which the professor had just discussed ; the pupils were by that means directly initiated into scientific study. I observe the following notes in his diary : " My second course. Abbé A. spoke about the *Διδαχή*<sup>1</sup> and some passages

<sup>1</sup> The Didache, *or* The teaching of the twelve Apostles.



relative to the Eucharist : Lecture upon the Eucharist according to S. Ignatius ; Lecture upon the Eucharist according to S. Justin ; Lecture upon the Eucharist according to Clement of Alexandria ; Lecture upon the Tractates of Origen and the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles ; Lecture upon the moment of Consecration in the Liturgy."

A student who sedulously attended this course of lectures has left some notes which afford us information as to the work of the second half year. "We pursued too parallel tasks : (1) The explanation of an author. It had always been Morel's dream to proceed in Theology as they do in Literature. The author chosen was S. Cyril of Jerusalem. After a rapid reading of the first three mystagogic Catecheses, we applied ourselves to a lengthy explanation of the fourth and fifth Catecheses. A pupil began the translation and commented upon it ; the professor completed it and made corrections where needed. (2) The continuation of the analyses of authors contemporary with Cyril or after his time, in such a manner as to explain fully the relatively short text of the Catechesis. The text of the Catechesis affording us an explanation of the principal acts of the Eucharist Liturgy, we were led on in like manner to study the principal liturgical texts from the point of view of Positive Theology, and from these to gather ideas of a general nature with regard to the Eucharist Sacrifice."

Having completed the course, he continued his studies in the same direction ; but being always prudent and scrupulous, he did not dare to tabulate his conclusions as yet. He wrote to a friend : "I must write for your perusal the impressions of a little

journey into the land of the Fathers of the Church in quest of documents relative to the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Since then the journey has continued under better conditions. I have made a specially close study of the Canon of the Latin Mass, and the parallel texts of the Eastern Church, and have there discovered a quantity of things, which others have no doubt seen before me, but which I had never observed myself.

"I have been positively enraptured, and rejoice at the thought of again taking up the same subjects in a few years time, in my course of lectures, if it please GOD. I hope I shall then find time to write, not so much the impressions of a journey, as a study properly so called, upon the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Meanwhile I have not the courage to promise anything; I have too much to do."

One of Abbé Morel's best pupils gives expression, in his notes, to the conclusions which the former hardly dared to draw from his course of lectures, in the following manner: "After having given ourselves up to the labour of an analysis extending over all the authors of the first three centuries, we were able to attempt a synthesis of their views.

"I. *The Eucharistic Meal.* 1. The elements of the meal: the Bread and the Chalice. This Chalice contains wine mixed with water. 2. The Food of the Eucharistic meal: various names are assigned to It, the Bread of GOD, the Blood of the Lord, the Holy Eucharist; but unquestionably the most frequent is *The Body and Blood of the Lord*, and that expression sums up the belief of this period. It is a thankless task to seek to determine more than this. We know that it is the same Flesh which suffered for us and

which the Father raised to life again ; but how it is present in the Eucharist is a question that no one thinks of raising. That which was bread is become the Body of the Lord ; it has therefore undergone a change, *but no one said so*. Nevertheless, they appear to make thanksgiving and prayer intervene to effect this change. 3. Indications with regard to Eucharistic customs : these meet with no explanation in the Protestant theory, according to which, the Body of the Lord is present only at the moment of Communion. 4. The meaning and efficacy of the Eucharist. Being a meal, the Eucharist has the meaning and the efficacy of every meal ; the result is *Union* with Christ. Ignatius has also much insisted upon the union which the Eucharist establishes between the Faithful and between the Churches. The symbolism of the bread and wine indicates to us the same belief. The effects of the Eucharist are also expressed in various ways : Life, Knowledge, Immortality (*Ἀδελφία*), Immortality (Irenaeus), Power, and Confidence (Cyprian). A few words must be added upon the symbolism peculiar to the Alexandrians. According to Clement, the Eucharist engenders within us Grace, according to Origen the participation in the Word. Being Intellectualists, they reduce perfection entirely to that of the intelligence ; of that perfection the Eucharist is but a means and a sign.

“II. *The Sacrifice*. From the beginning, they are in accord in making the Eucharist a Sacrifice. 1. But what idea did they form of Sacrifice? Sacrifice is a *prayer in act*, which is always regarded as having been ordered or instituted by the Deity. The idea which they formed depended essentially upon the concep-

tion which they had of the Deity. In an inferior period of religion, in which before all things the Deity was a power to be feared, the Sacrifice constituted all that the Deity could expect from mankind ; it did not proceed from the conception that mankind had any duties towards GOD ; the Sacrifice was a bargain, give—give—. When man began to regard the Deity as being a Moral Power, commanding Good and forbidding Evil, he understood that there was a second way in which to approach GOD, namely by means of *virtue*. The outward sacrifice possessed value only in so far as it expressed the inward feelings (Trust, Love, Repentance). Moral conduct has the advantage of being pleasing in itself, sacrifice is only pleasing to GOD so long as it is sustained by the necessary moral dispositions. 2. *Statements by the Fathers*. (A) There is no sacrifice other than the Sacrifice offered by Christ. This is affirmed in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is easily justified ; because, the Sacrifice of Christ is a religious Act, accepted by GOD and offered by a priest, and at the same time it is a free Act, an Offering which possesses value in Itself. (B) Every Christian is a priest ; the sacrifice that he offers is the practice of virtue. (C) The great sacrifice of the Christian is the Eucharist ; because it is the centre of Christian Worship, the most perfect and most lofty expression of the feelings of a Christian heart with regard to Almighty GOD. And, since above all things GOD is Goodness, the conception, which best sums up all our feelings, is that of Thankfulness. We cannot conceive of this Thankfulness without at the same time discovering Adoration, Trust, Petition, and Repentance. The Thanksgiving is an Act ; this Act is first of all the



Offering of the Firstfruits of Creation (Irenaeus, Origen). This Offering was ordained by the Saviour, in memory of His *Passion*. It becomes thus a Memorial, so much the more precious because, during the ceremony of the offering, the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of the Saviour; the Eucharist is no longer simply the Firstfruits of Creation, but also the Firstfruits of Redemption."

The third year's course of lectures dealt with S. Athanasius; Abbé Morel announced it in these terms to one of his friends:—

"My course for this year has for its subject S. Athanasius and Arianism. I do not know whether it interests my pupils very much, but I can assure you that it greatly interests me. And I question whether for priests there exists more substantial food for the religious life than a study of Catholic Tradition among the Fathers." I notice a few remarks in his diary.

"To-day—Lecture upon Docetism; Lecture upon Callistus and Hyppolytus; a study upon S. Justin and S. Irenaeus; Lecture upon Origen; Lecture upon Arius; Lecture upon weakness, ignorance, and fear in the Christ according to S. Athanasius."

These are the terms in which the reporter of the Theological Faculty gave account of this course of lectures, at the solemn assembly at the close of the year: "The professor in Patrology, Abbé Morel, has during the year conducted a study upon *S. Athanasius and Arianism*. He has not been content to contrast the doctrine of the Great Bishop of Alexandria with that of Arius. He went back with his pupils to the second and third centuries. Together they have found out the origin of Arianism, whilst gathering up the



testimonies relative to the Divinity of Christ and forcing themselves to determine their meaning and weigh their importance. In the same way they have not confined themselves to the works written by S. Athanasius against heresy. They desired to seek out in the earlier works of the Holy Doctor, the *Contra Gentes* and *De Incarnatione*, the master ideas which were to direct him later on in his struggle against Arius. Thus they have ascertained that from the very beginning, in spite of certain hesitations in speech, Christians believed that Christ was GOD. They have discovered that Arianism was a rationalism born of the abuse of Philosophy, and that what qualified S. Athanasius to be the champion of Orthodoxy was, first, his having attached himself to the data of Tradition, rather than to the reasoning of philosophers, and, following upon this, his having deeply felt the powerlessness of man and the loftiness of the destiny of the Christian, and grasped the necessity of the intervention, not of a creature more perfect than the rest, but of GOD Himself, in order to drag us out of our misery and raise us up to Himself."

This is all that has been left to us of this course of lectures, together with a few scattered *fiches*; a great study of the Fathers was beginning, we felt it; we already beheld the first lines of the edifice which this patient workman was about to construct; all was shivered to atoms by his death.

Throughout his first year as professor, while pursuing his inquiry with regard to Holy Baptism, Abbé Morel constantly returned to his memories of England, either in solitary meditations or in his conversations, more and more numerous and lengthy, with the Abbé Portal.

Little by little the ideas of the Seminary of Saint-Vincent de Paul, and of its Superior captivated him by their nobleness. He accustomed himself to this idea of the union of the Churches, or at least to the idea of the possible action of one Church upon another ; and it was no longer towards England alone that he looked, it was towards the East, towards the Church of the seven Œcumenical Councils, and towards Russia. Already, some years before, at a time when people used to speak far less of Russia, the Abbé Portal had pointed out, in an address delivered in London, the interest that a study of the Russian Church was capable of affording.

Much preoccupied with the problem of the general union of the Churches, he did not believe in an autonomous movement in the Eastern Church, and he thought that the effervescence called into activity by the Encyclical of Leo XIII, would simmer down by degrees, without having brought about any appreciable results. The influence upon the East must be exercised by Russia, whose political power in those regions was developing to such an extent as to be even supplanting the religious influence of the French protectorate. The Russian mind and that of the Easterns, have many points of resemblance, and were indeed framed to comprehend each other. Therefore, in order to bring the East into Unity, it is necessary to begin by winning over to this cause the heart and the head of the East, namely Russia. Such was the original idea which the Abbé Portal revealed in his London address, and which is found indicated many times in the *Revue Anglo-Romaine*.

This conviction quickly passed into the mind of

Abbé Morel. It was strengthened in England by long conversations with Mr. Birkbeck, who had seen Russia at close quarters and with astonishing delicacy had penetrated the inmost recesses of the Russian mind. Abbé Morel longed to see Russia ; and if he had needed encouragements in making up his mind to go there, he would have found them everywhere in England and in France. I could cite many names here ; I cannot give them all ; but I ought not to omit M. Tavernier, M. Levé, M. A. Leroy-Beaulieu, M. Goyau, nor, above all, M. Henri Lorin, whose noble soul is always ready to wax enthusiastic in support of causes which have the stamp of greatness, and who simply devotes his life, day by day, to doing good.

Abbé Morel's travels in Russia will be related all together in the following chapter, although they were undertaken upon three separate occasions, and each time after the interval of a year ; but it appeared preferable to break with chronological order for the purpose of giving a general idea of the Russian Church.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### L'ABBÉ MOREL AND RUSSIA.

ABBÉ MOREL went to Russia three times, in 1903, 1904, and in 1905, and stayed there each time for two or three months.

Upon the first occasion he went without enthusiasm and with no definite object. He admitted indeed, as the Abbé Portal had said to him, that one could "do something" in Russia, but he did not know exactly what, and he did not suppose that GOD had selected him for that mission. Having travelled in Germany, Italy, and England, there was no reason why he should not complete in Russia the religious research which he had laid upon himself. And then, he would see upon the spot whether there were any means of serving the cause of union in this new country.

The first year he contented himself with getting acclimatized, and only succeeded in doing so with difficulty. Russia took him by surprise, and in its strangeness appeared to him to possess no European character. Moscow above all astonished him, but at the same time it charmed him, so that he retained in memory the aspect of its streets in all their details. "The multitude of its churches and of its bright and variously coloured towers, with their capricious lines and quaint shapes, in an atmosphere often as pure as that of Italy, presents the most curious spectacle that

one can imagine." He went for a walk to the Sparrow Hills, upon the bank of the River Moskva, which overlook the city.

"The weather was dull at first, and Moscow did not impress me much. But behold a ray of sunshine pierces the clouds, and extends slowly over the city, causing an incredible number of towers and steeples to spring forth into view, in dazzling whiteness, exhibiting themselves for a moment only to fall back into the shade again. The dome of Saint-Saviour was illuminated in its turn, towering in its massiveness above all the rest. Then the ray of sunshine disappeared until the moment when, the clouds being dispersed, the whole of Moscow appeared radiant. It was like fairyland." But Morel did not come to Russia to enjoy the scenery, and nearly all the pages of his diary are full of exact information, which must have cost him much time and fatigue. He observed everything carefully; he knew the colour of the bishop's "Mantic" and to the smallest detail he learned the history of the Ikon of Kazan. He describes minutely a procession which spread itself out beneath the walls of the Kremlin. The silver-gilt banners carried by three men; the last of the Ikons, "huge, richly ornamented, and framed in a case which was glazed, and garlanded with flowers"; the bishop "who brought up the rear of the procession accompanied by his deacon and the little boy who had been carrying his crozier the other day. I crossed the square and took up a position under cover from the wind, in the Riady.

"The procession was not long in getting on the move and extending itself from one end of the square to the other: it was really an extraordinary sight, those



glittering and mobile banners, in front of the battlements of the Kremlin, beyond which the cupolas of the two convents shone forth. To the right, the historical Museum reared its spires to the sky in full sunlight, while to the left, the famous church of the Blessed Basil, lying in shadow, carved out a sombre mass of fantastic outline in the clear sky."

From this first journey he brought back with him but a very vague impression: "I cannot read Russian without a dictionary; I only know two or three Russians who speak French. I have been unable to see any of the clergy. Of the convents I have seen only the churches, the cemeteries, and the embattled towers. Of the Offices I know no more than the outward aspect. . . . But supposing I ever return to Moscow and should wish to see the Russian religion more closely, my work could be considered as already begun. That is something, and so much the more because I know enough about Russia and Russian customs to be able to travel there without the least embarrassment."

The following year Abbé Morel returned to Russia with more interest. He had determined to learn the language better, an absolute necessity for conversing with the Orthodox priests, nearly all of whom speak only their own language: for a whole month he isolated himself, within an hour of Moscow, close to the ruins of the palace of Tsaritsino, among Russians who only spoke Russian. Then he returned to Moscow and S. Petersburg. Mr. Birkbeck had afforded him an introduction to an influential personage of the Empire, who presented him to authors, bishops, and archimandrites; he was everywhere received with the traditional good

grace, in the large drawing-rooms, round the tea tables, in the midst of the imperceptible smoke of excellent cigarettes.

After this, his method of investigation bore fruit. After having looked about him, he began to inquire. The questions which he raised, incidentally and with caution, always touched upon the main point; he allowed himself to be questioned with regard to matters in France, and his erudition was accompanied by such modesty that it invited the confidence of men who have so many reasons for distrusting foreigners. He allowed himself scarcely a minute's respite, and his visits, his excursions through churches and convents, and his reading absorbed the whole of his time. Nevertheless he found means to write abundant notes and to send some correspondence to the *Revue Catholique des Églises*.

Upon his return he wrote to one of his friends: "I have come back from Russia more satisfied still than last year. True I have not been able to penetrate very deeply into the soul of Russia. However I am beginning to know better a certain number of Russians, both lay and ecclesiastic, and the conversations that I have had with them have put me on the right track a little. If in the course of the year I get time to read a few books, and to follow a few Russian reviews, a third journey will have some chance of being fruitful."

The third journey appeared to be a necessity. Observing the same methods of inquiry, Morel contented himself with widening his circle of relationships. Two new groups of people attracted him, the Old-Believers and the Monks. He undertook two journeys, one to the Monastery of Valaam, on an island in Lake Ladoga,

and the other to the Monastery of Solovetski, in the White Sea. He was interested in these two independent republics, which have retired from the outside world, and whose monks, if on the whole they do not happen to have edified him, at least provided him with "some idea of the life of the ancient monks of the East," and taught him something of the "difficulty which the Russians experience in comprehending the nature of our Religious". In order to reach this monastery Abbé Morel did not fear to impose upon himself great fatigue: in place of going by train and steamer, he preferred to wander off the beaten tracks, and, in order to see Russia as she really is, to reach the White Sea by way of Lake Ladoga, and Lake Onega, and on land by post-chaise. The post had to accomplish a distance of 194 versts (about 128 miles) in twenty-five hours, with a halt of nearly seven hours. Here are a few extracts from his diary of the journey.

"The first stage was very pleasant. I was thoroughly glad to find myself upon *terre ferme* again, and, breathing in the air in copious draughts, I was delighted at the prospect of being carried along without too much jolting, at a very rapid pace, by my two little horses. We quickly entered the forest, which at this point has a poor appearance. We met a few peasants with their carts. I was able to recite in peace the Office of Saint-Dié, which in all probability has never been said in this country before.

"I had an excellent driver throughout the second stage, who knew wonderfully well how to manage his horses. The forest filled up a little more and the country became more uneven. Just as we were with-

in reach of the relay, we passed over a hill from which we had a fine view of the forest in the distance.

“July 14th, Friday. My driver for the third stage had been at Povienetz when the boat arrived. They had not told him that there was a traveller for Souma. He did not want to be paid in advance. At the fifth verst, the tyre came off one of the wheels of his tarantass, and gave me cause to reflect upon the unpleasantness that might be occasioned by finding oneself stranded in a country of that nature, and at a long distance from any dwelling place. The man was quite unconcerned ; he threw the tyre to the side of the road, and contented himself for the rest of the journey with keeping his eye upon the wheel thus disabled.

“At the fourth stage I had a young driver of a fragile type, who wore rings in his ears, and menaced his horses with gesticulations. He had to get down several times to put the harness straight. We stopped at a very small village, Petrovski Jam,<sup>1</sup> where there is a church with a somewhat paltry exterior. It appears that Peter the Great once halted there to hold a conversation. It was time for a meal. I went up into the traveller's room and found two people there, who were busy drinking tea and invited me to join them. I accepted the invitation. The driver who had brought them to the place drank more tea than all the rest of us put together. They were two pilgrims, just come from Vytegra, apparently the wife and daughter of some small merchant. The mother had been to Jerusalem. They had left Povienetz two hours before me, without having employed the post.

“Throughout the stage of 34 versts which followed,

<sup>1</sup> Petrovski Jam = Peter's Station.

and which was accomplished too slowly for my liking, we met but one man. The weather, which had shown signs of becoming cold, got warm again and it poured with rain. Badly enough protected by my Kibitka, and by the apron belonging to the tarantass, which let in the water, I suffered still greater uneasiness in seeing the water reach my luggage and soak through the rug which I had spread over my knees.

"We took tea at Kuros-Ozero, my tea this time. Those in the house had gone to bed, and there was a bed in the *stantsia*<sup>1</sup> upon which I verily believe some one was lying. The landlord produced many reasons to induce us to spend the night there. He declared that the two stage horses were available (I had a right to them), but that there would be difficulty in finding any for my companions. A countryman arrived upon the scene with whom they entered into negotiations.

"I ended by leaving them and setting out alone. The road got more and more winding and more and more hilly. The rain continued, but I found that in this vehicle both I and my baggage were a little better protected than in the preceding ones. We frequently passed along the edge of little lakes; throughout the whole journey indeed, I never saw a village without a lake.

"They kept me waiting rather a long time at Verengeski, and to calm my impatience, I had little diversion other than that of watching a man, who came out of a house near by and several times sounded a kind of hunting horn made of wood. The pilgrims, who were wet through, rejoined me. The next stage was horrible. The road was most uneven, and we went

<sup>1</sup> Station.



at a good pace. I could never have believed it possible to jolt people about in such a manner. I raised myself upon my arms so as to deaden the shocks. Every moment it seemed as though my inside must be deranged. Then a jerk would send my head against the upper or lower rails of the Kibitka. The driver himself seemed in nowise perturbed. When we got to the end of the journey I complained to him that it was dreadful. I could have imagined that I was in a *téléga*<sup>1</sup> instead of a tarantass. The driver declared that it was the fault of the roads, which in the province of Archangel, they have not repaired for seven years.

“The station at which we had arrived, named Simostrof, is prettily situated, close by a lake and on the other side of a bridge. The weather improved during the following stage, and although we were in the province of Archangel, and the road was still very uneven and we kept up a good pace, I was less jolted. The vehicle must have been a better one.

“At Lopinskaïa I asked for some milk. A young peasant girl rather gracefully attired, with bare shoulders and bare feet, brought me an earthenware porringer, not however without dipping her fingers in the milk. I hastily drank a glass of tea and got up into the vehicle for the last stage. It was less rough. There were plenty of opportunities along the road for breaking one's neck. Every minute there were extremely steep ups and downs, which we could have easily avoided, so it seemed. And even when we were passing over level ground, quite close to Souma, the holes in the road put me to a rude test.

<sup>1</sup> A Russian cart without springs, used only by the peasants.

“The whole journey was accomplished in the midst of the wood, without seeing, outside the stations, any other dwellings than a house erected by the side of a bridge which was built over a large stretch of water. The road took up only a small portion of the opening made in the wood. On both sides quantities of trunks were often to be seen lying upon the ground, sometimes carbonized. The forest itself, composed of fir, pine, and birch, had an appearance more or less in keeping with the region. The people with whom we came in contact seemed obliging, and even polite. The women wore costumes which reminded me of those on the way to Kivatch: their dresses were showy, leaving the neck bare. They no longer speak Finnish however.

“I had counted upon getting to the end of my difficulties at Souma. That was a mistake. It was the end of being jolted in a tarantass, but the commencement of a day of terrible weariness. At the entrance of the village, for Souma is only a large village, there is a last break-neck, where the driver was obliged to get down from his seat to hold the horses' heads.

“We next arrived upon a wooden stage which was continued by a bridge. But, instead of going over the bridge, we turned to the right along by the river, and halted before a house of mediocre appearance. This was the post station. The landlord of the station is a peasant, rather ill-clad, although it was Sunday, and blind in one eye into the bargain. I hastened to ascertain whether there was a boat going to Solovetski. On the way they had given us so many contradictory pieces of information. I learned that the boat had gone the evening before, and that there would not be

another before Saturday, six days later. Luckily, however, there ought to be a boat for Archangel on the morrow.

"I gave my last driver his tip, and entered the station. The *station* here has an antechamber, so that there are two apartments at the disposal of travellers. The necessary furniture, washstand and towel, couch and placards were distributed between the two. There was even a second couch and a bed, with several chairs and tables.

"Two young men had already put up at this strange hotel. One of them, a telegraph clerk, was there when I arrived.

"Being fagged out I was longing to go to rest. The couch in the first room was old and creaked immediately one leaned upon it. The one in the second room had a better appearance, but it was piled up with baggage. I threw myself upon the bed, but I could not sleep; it seemed as though the bed were inhabited. The telegraphist was reading at the window. I went and threw myself upon the couch in the first room, where I dosed uneasily.

"After this I was anxious to go out and see the place from which the boat of escape would depart. I crossed the bridge and went down by the side of the river, hoping to see the quay for the Archangel vessels. Nothing of the kind; a few boats and a few *isbas*,<sup>1</sup> reflected upside down in the water. Nothing revealed the neighbourhood of the sea. I asked where was the quay for the Archangel vessels: for answer I only received a vague motion with the hand in the direction of the sea, a gesture which I was to understand on the morrow.

<sup>1</sup> Russian wooden cottages.

"Returning to the house I ordered the Samovar<sup>1</sup> to be prepared. Whilst waiting, I seated myself in front of the telegraphist, who was no longer reading. Placed thus, face to face, from both sides of the table, we gazed, each out of our window, at the rain which was falling. We ended in exchanging a few words. The Samovar was brought in. I asked for two eggs, but I couldn't get them boiled sufficiently, and one of them seemed to be bad. The meal ended, I once more endeavoured to go to sleep.

"Then, as it no longer rained I decided to explore Souma. With utter weariness I trudged through all the streets which presented themselves. Every one of them came to an end without entering the country. One of them extended a little way over a sort of swampy plateau. Even from there I could not see the sea. Street repair in this place consists in putting down a track of planks, five or six in width. Upon these planks one walks at ease, and the mud spreads itself out, also at ease, along the sides.

"The houses are of course built of wood. Some of them are rather large and seem to be well kept. I returned by way of the bridge above the village, and proceeded to recite my Breviary along the road by which I had arrived, the only road, it seems, which leads out of Souma. There I had a little peace. I walked along by the side of the little cemetery near the churches, going as far as the second and third. I returned to go to bed.

"Twice during the day, first through the rain in the morning, and again in the afternoon, I went to the 'Podvorie'<sup>2</sup> of Solovetski, to ascertain whether the

<sup>1</sup> A Russian tea urn.

<sup>2</sup> A *cell* or dependent house of a monastery.

rumour of the arrival of a boat on the morrow which would leave again on Tuesday was true. Some monks in bright blue cassocks told me no. Along the road I fell in with the young pilgrims from Vytegra, one with a postcard in her hand. They had arrived at two o'clock and had cherished the hope of leaving on Tuesday, but they appeared to have resigned themselves without reluctance to waiting till Saturday, so they said to me. But the attractions of the 'station' were no better suited to retain me than those of the 'Podvorie'. The wooden 'Podvorie' seemed to be indifferently kept, and GOD knows what manner of pilgrims were lodged within.

"It is situated upon the rising ground on the left bank behind the two churches, the winter church of stone and the summer one of wood.

"In the evening I asked for tea, and some eggs, which were good. I returned along the one country road to recite my Breviary for the morrow, and about half-past nine I went back to bed. Of the two travellers who had arrived before me, one whom I had barely seen, had departed. The young telegraphist was talking to another young fellow, in front of the window of our antechamber. Thinking that he intended to sleep in the other room, I got ready to stretch myself upon the old couch, when his companion perceiving this, asked me if I wanted to sleep. I replied yes. Then they told me that it was better to sleep upon the floor, away from the wall. They took the covering from the bed in the second room, and folding it double they laid it out upon the floor; they then placed a pillow at one end, propping it up with two chairs, and my bed was made. I was not long in



falling into a heavy sleep, waking up now and then to turn over.

"It is possible that Soumski Posad, with its wide river, its two wooden bridges, one of which is situated quite close to a cascade, with its houses ranged along the slopes of both banks, its two churches, its 'isbas' topsyturvy in the water, its boats and their sails, and with the brilliant costumes of the inhabitants, would present a sufficiently pretty appearance under a bright sun. But when a man bears the burden of heavy deception, the load of a night spent without sleep and of a journey of 128 miles in a tarantass, when he finds himself without a room to which to retire, when he has no one to speak to, when he does not know where to procure edible provisions and has nothing resembling a bed to rest upon, Soumski Posad becomes a horrible place of exile, and nothing is more calculated to make a civilized mortal feel to what extent he depends upon the society and civilization to which he is accustomed.

"My awakening on *Monday* morning was abrupt. The evening before, a few words of a conversation at the door of the 'station' had aroused my attention. From it I gathered information regarding the time of departure of a boat on the morrow. They told me I should have to leave in eight hours' time, that I had no need to trouble about anything however, they would look after everything.

"With that assurance, I was still sleeping upon my floor at 6.40 A.M. when my hostess entered, without knocking of course, and observed the time. I said to myself that if I wanted to have time to drink some tea and recite my Breviary I must get up. Once up, it

was a moment or two before I regained my senses properly ; I felt extremely heavy. Nothing was to be seen of the telegraphist or his luggage.

“All of a sudden, behold two women fell upon my trunks and set themselves to carry them off, looking round to see if that were all. I called out to them that I was not ready ; they said they would come back again. I had hardly time to roll up my rug and pay my hostess for the eggs, when the women returned and escorted me along. We immediately embarked in a small boat in which several people were already seated and all sorts of packages were bundled together. The boat had a woman for a pilot and four others as rowers. We pushed off. We collected a few more passengers, leaving one behind who, occupied in drinking tea, wanted us to wait for her, and our rowers conveyed us away. We had 3 versts to go before we reached the mouth of the river. There, close to some huts, there was a small jetty, down which came a young woman in tears, whose husband, a soldier I believe, was on board the boat. A little further on, the water was so shallow that we had difficulty in proceeding. The boat touched the bottom, in spite of precaution having been taken to distribute the passengers evenly throughout its entire length.

“After 10 versts upon the sea, we reached at 9.30 a small rocky island with a shallow beach where we had no difficulty in landing. It was now a matter of awaiting the arrival of the steamer [Friday, 3.45].

“Some piles of firewood were to be seen ranged in rows upon the island, and six or eight men who were busy at this wood, were drinking tea, half sheltered

beneath a kind of tent. Not far away from them lay their boat, bottom upwards.

“The women, unpacking their provisions, put their little packets of tea together and set themselves to the task of boiling the water. One woman, a little better dressed, kept apart with a girl of about twelve years of age. I began to saunter about, sitting down, only to get up again and sit down a little further away, watching the playful manœuvres of the sea-gulls and wild duck, and listening to their cries. This rocky island possesses flowers, and a small shrub, something like a fir tree which the wind has hindered from rising far above the ground, bearing little berries which were still green. The gnarled and withered trunks of this kind of shrub were to be seen nearly everywhere.

“They invited me to share the tea and provisions ; I could not refuse. I escaped afterwards, along an isthmus to a sort of peninsula, at the extreme end of which, taking advantage of the distance, I was able to have a bathe in the sea. On my way back, I picked up a little teal upon the rocks, which was unable to fly, and set it at liberty.

“Towards noon the smoke of the steamer was visible. At a quarter past twelve we quitted the island for a ten minutes' row to the side of a boat, larger than ours, which was at anchor in the bay. We embarked at one o'clock. Then the time arrived for unloading the goods destined for Souma. The operation was a long one and, when it was finished, we had to wait for the cutter, which had been told off to go and fetch the letters.

“It was beginning to rain, and the sea, which had been calm during the morning, began to swell. We set off

at last at ten minutes to seven. Twelve hours had elapsed since I had left the post 'station'. It would not have taken so long to get from Paris to Liverpool!"

After that terrible journey, Abbé Morel was able to visit his monasteries, but, if he collected together much valuable information, he did not regain his health which had been shaken by so much fatigue. It was the beginning of that exhausted condition which struck his friends when he arrived in Moscow, and was certainly one of the causes which led to his death.

While throughout these journeys Abbé Morel was amassing his observations he was reflecting, and an important intellectual work was going on within him. The ideas which ruled his action were becoming clearly defined, and they must now be made known. They are particularly marked in a brochure entitled: *La Théologie de Khomiakov*. This is the most complete of the few writings which Abbé Morel has left behind him; I shall quote large extracts from it.

. . . . .

"In reading the little theological treatises, written in our own language,<sup>1</sup> by Alexis Stepanovich Khomiakoff, the French reader will experience an impression full of enchantment. From the very first it is a surprise which compels admiration; we ask ourselves how a foreigner, who has only seen France while passing through the country, is able to command the language to such perfection. For not only is Khomiakoff's

<sup>1</sup> *L'Église latine et le Protestantisme au point de vue de l'Église d'Orient*. "The Latin Church and Protestantism from the point of view of the Eastern Church." A collection of articles upon religious subjects written at different times and on various occasions by A. S. Khomiakoff. Lausanne et Vevey, 1872.

French correct and even elegant, not only are the most delicate shades of the meaning of words perceived, but more than this, the phrases, which are always easy in spite of their length, are developed with a harmony and fullness which recall the fine prose writers of the *Grand Siècle*. And yet, however French Khomiakoff's language may be, we feel that there has never been a period in which a Frenchman belonging to France wrote in such a style. The seventeenth century did not possess this vocabulary, and the nineteenth century no longer used that phraseology. It is evident that if Khomiakoff learned from his professor, the Abbé Boivin, the French of his own epoch, and if he inherited from his family expressions which have been preserved in Russian Society but which are almost forgotten amongst ourselves, he has above all diligently read the best of our authors, and it is to them that he owes the archaic perfection of his language.

"A simple layman and a theologian by accident, but of a profoundly religious mind, Khomiakoff has exercised a powerful influence upon Russian Theology. Born<sup>1</sup> in the midst of a society which professed an equal disdain for national traditions and for the Orthodox religion, Khomiakoff considered himself happy in not having a single drop of western blood in his veins, and he was never ashamed of strictly observing the rites of the Church. In his early days, as he says himself, 'Nobody supposed the possibility of civilization and Orthodoxy being united'.<sup>2</sup> With the Slavo-

<sup>1</sup> He was born May 1st (old style), 1804, and died September 23rd, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> *Russia and the English Church during the last fifty years*, Vol. I. Containing a correspondence between Mr. William Palmer, Fellow of



philes, Khomiakoff believed that Russia possessed within herself more than all the West can give her, and instead of laboriously defending Orthodoxy against Catholicism and Protestantism, he looks with scorn upon what he calls the Schism of the West. With him Russian Theology changes its attitude towards Rome and Protestantism.

"It has formed a conception of the Church and of the Christian Faith which hitherto it did not possess, and, what is worthy of notice, it has disclosed preoccupations of thought which are pretty much of the same nature as those which to-day still keep awake the attention of the West.

"What was the attitude of Russian theologians prior to Khomiakoff in relation to the Westerns? M. Georges Samarin, one of Khomiakoff's disciples, has expressed this attitude in a single word: they *parried*. Having quitted their own ground in order to place themselves upon that of their adversaries, they found themselves exposed to the crossfire of Catholics and Protestants, and were reduced to a defensive, more dangerous from day to day. 'They formed themselves,' says M. Samarin,<sup>1</sup> 'into two schools, the one exclusively Anti-Latin, the other exclusively Anti-Protestant; an Orthodox school in the strict sense of the word ceased to exist. . . .

". . . The mistake which they made at the very outset, in allowing themselves to be led over on to alien soil, entailed three inevitable consequences. In

Magdalene College, Oxford, and Mr. Khomiakoff, in the years, 1844-54, edited by W. J. Birkbeck (London, 1895), p. 71.

<sup>1</sup>From the introduction to Volume II of the "Œuvres de Khomiakov" (works of Khomiakoff). Quoted from the English translation by Mr. Birkbeck, *op. cit.* xxxviii. *seq.*

the first place, the Anti-Latin school admitted into itself a Protestant leaven, and the Anti-Protestant school a Latin leaven ; secondly, and as the result of this, each success of either of these schools in its conflict with its rival always resulted in injuring the other and provided for the common enemy, with which both had to deal, a fresh weapon against themselves ; and thirdly, and most important of all, *the Rationalism of the West filtered through into Orthodox Theology and crystallized itself there in the form of a scientific setting to the dogmas of the Faith*,—in the shape of proofs, explanations, and deductions. . . .”

This defensive attitude was still more unfortunate in that it was complicated by disputes between the two schools. Russian Society, which followed the conflict as a disinterested spectator, came to believe that Orthodoxy was merely an ancient form of religion, and that with the aid of progress, she would one day be obliged to split up into two halves, the one Latin, the other Protestant.

Khomiakoff himself resolutely assumed the offensive. He would have no more of the arguments of Catholics against Protestants, nor yet those of Protestants against Catholics. “ I make so little use,” he says, “ of weapons borrowed from Western controversy, that my own arguments are in direct opposition to those which it has employed up to this day. Have Protestants ever accused Romanists of Rationalism? Have they ever sought to prove that Romanism is only the most ancient form of Protestantism? Have Romanists ever accused Protestants of pseudo-traditionalism and of a blind worship of the letter? Have

either of them ever asserted that what is wanting in their adversaries is the *moral law* which alone constitutes the unity of the Church?"<sup>1</sup>

Khomiakoff's arguments against Protestantism are not so novel as he imagines. On the other hand, those which he directs against what he calls *Romanism* are unexpected enough. He upbraids Catholics with regard to free inquiry and Rationalism, at the same time that he accuses them of moral fratricide.

For him "The Western Schism" dates neither from Michael Cerularius nor even from Photius. It was consummated upon the day when Rome admitted the *Filioque* into the Creed of Constantinople. Not that the doctrine expressed by this clause is a heresy. "... That opinion in itself," says Khomiakoff, "has not been condemned by the Church, not being directly contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and therefore does not constitute a heresy. The heresy consists in calumniating the Church and in giving out as her tradition a human and arbitrary opinion. . . ." <sup>2</sup> By adding a clause to the Creed in opposition to the formal decision of an Œcumenical Council, which had forbidden any alteration of this Creed, "the Roman world had implicitly declared that the Eastern World was no more than a world of helots in faith and doctrine. Ecclesiastical life had ceased for one of the moieties of the Church. . . ." <sup>3</sup> The Western Schism is the unmerited exclusion of the whole of the East, the usurpation of the monopoly of Divine Inspiration,—in a word—*moral fratricide*.

<sup>1</sup> *L'Église latine*, etc., p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> The third letter to Mr. W. Palmer, published by W. J. Birkbeck, op. cit. p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Église latine*, etc., p. 35.

Such is the meaning of the great heresy against the Universality of the Church. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

The ancient heresies, such as Arianism, "were errors in revealed Dogma, whether concerning the inmost nature of GOD, or His relations with human nature, but, though falsifying the traditional doctrine, they professed that they remained faithful to it. They were errors, more or less culpable, but they were individual errors, which did not assail the Dogma of the Universality of the Church, and they desired to prove their truth by the consent of all Christians. Romanism, by substituting for the unity of the universal faith the independence of individual opinion, or diocesan (for as I have shown, the admission of papal infallibility did not come until much later on), has been the first heresy against the Dogma concerning the nature of the Church, or of her belief in herself.

"The Reformation was only a continuation of this same heresy in a different guise. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

"Individual opinion, or provincial, it matters not which, in arrogating to itself, in point of Dogma, the right of an independent decision within the Universal Church, already constituted Protestantism. It was free inquiry without the living tradition of unity based upon mutual love. Romanism therefore was Protestant from its birth. . . . Western Protestantism concealed itself beneath an external authority, a fact which in political history we constantly see repeated. It could not be otherwise, for the Holy Spirit had withdrawn, and the reign of purely rational logic had begun. . . . Human reason, proud of the logical independence which had been created for it, and irritated by the

<sup>1</sup> *L'Église latine*, etc., p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 56, 57.

arbitrary trammels which had been imposed upon it, asserted itself; and Protestantism appeared, the legitimate child of Romanism as regards its origin, and legitimate in spite of its revolt. . . .

"It would be very easy to show how the Roman impress has marked with its indelible character the reformed doctrines, and that the same spirit of Utilitarian Rationalism, which was that of the Papacy, is still that of the Reformation. The conclusions are certainly different, but the premises and the definitions which they implicitly contain remain always the same. The Papacy declares:—

"‘The Church has always prayed for the dead; but this prayer would be *useless* if there were no intermediate state, *therefore* Purgatory exists.’ The Reformation replies: ‘There is not a trace of Purgatory in the Holy Scriptures or in the Primitive Church, *therefore* it is *useless* to pray for the dead, and I will not pray. . . .’ The Papacy declares: ‘Faith, according to S. James, is not sufficient; *therefore* it cannot save us, and works are *profitable* and constitute a *merit*. . . .’ Protestantism makes answer: ‘Faith alone can save, according to S. Paul, and works do not constitute merit, *therefore* they are *unprofitable*. . . .’ The contest has gone on and continued through the centuries in this fashion, accompanied by syllogistic blows, but the ground upon which it takes place remains the same, it is always the ground of Rationalism, and neither of the two antagonists can choose any other. . . .”<sup>1</sup>

In our own days, “The struggle still continues, but its character has changed, because the moral forces of

<sup>1</sup> *L'Église latine*, etc., pp. 36-43.



both sides are exhausted. . . . The war to the knife between two irreconcilable systems of belief has an appearance of having been changed into a courteous passage of arms between two hypocritical incredulities." <sup>1</sup> Incredulity is in reality the fatal end of the road upon which the West set out at the close of the eighth century. "My firm conviction," wrote M. Khomiakoff to Mr. W. Palmer, "is that Romanism is nothing else but Separatism, and that humanity has only one choice, Catholic Orthodoxy <sup>2</sup> or Infidelity. All the middle terms are nothing but preparatory steps towards the latter. . . . <sup>3</sup> Do not, dear Sir, ascribe an undue importance to secondary facts; and do not shut your eyes to the evident *separatism of the Roman West, which is the only true plague of humanity.*" <sup>4</sup>

It would be difficult to be more severe. Khomiakoff does not seek for a just mean between Catholics and Protestants. From the extreme right upon which he takes his stand, he beholds them both busy at the same revolutionary work, the ruin of the Church.

That Khomiakoff should have misunderstood the positions of the adversaries whom he attacked, and that consequently the arguments which to him appeared the best directed should fall to the ground, is nothing to astonish us. We know how a similar mishap is often the lot of those who attempt to shake an institution or refute a doctrine. Nevertheless Khomiakoff has an excuse which all do not possess. However familiar he may have been with western languages, however conscientiously he may have studied the works of

<sup>1</sup> *L'Église latine*, etc., pp. 73, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Of the Greek-Russian Church of course.

<sup>3</sup> Ninth letter to Mr. W. Palmer, Birkbeck, op. cit. p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Tenth letter, *ibid.*, p. 160.

western theologians, he has not been able to fathom the West sufficiently to understand the needs to which the theological movement of our Middle Ages responded, nor exactly to measure the import of the new dogmatic formulæ. Khomiakoff was a Russian and continued to be a Russian. But Russia has lived in isolation too long to be able to enter into close contact with western thought without a transition. Before we can understand each other a long study is necessary, and that study is far from being accomplished. We must ourselves be prepared thoroughly to grasp Khomiakoff's thought; and above all it is necessary that our theological language should be able accurately to translate his theology. Our terminology is too precise for such loose thought, and by reason of this very precision, it appears to demand answers to a host of questions which Khomiakoff has not raised. It would be an impossible task to attempt to sum up the theological ideas of Khomiakoff's in any terms other than his own. I am even more obliged to quote Khomiakoff himself when he reveals his own particular thought, than when he refutes that which he attributes to others.

The *Orthodox Review* of Moscow published in 1863, with the sanction of the Ecclesiastical Censor, a little treatise by Khomiakoff upon the *Unity of the Church*.<sup>1</sup> In it we read: "The Church is one. Her unity follows of necessity from the unity of GOD; for the Church is not a multitude of persons in their separate individuality, but a unity of the grace of GOD, living in a multitude of rational creatures, submitting them-

<sup>1</sup> A German translation of this treatise, due to Baroness von Rahden, was published in Berlin in 1870. I quote from the English translation given by Mr. Birkbeck, op. cit. p. 193 *seq.*

selves willingly to grace. Grace, indeed, is also given to those who resist it, and to those who do not make use of it (who hide their talent in the earth), but these are not in the Church. In fact, the unity of the Church is not imaginary or allegorical, but a true and substantial unity, such as is the unity of many members in a living body. . . ."

Manifestly Khomiakoff does not give to the word Church the meaning that we are accustomed to give to it, and his definition of the Church does not appear to be any more in accordance with that which has official currency in Russia. "The Church," says a Russian Catechism, "is the Society established by GOD, of individuals united together by the Orthodox Faith, by Divine Laws, by the Hierarchy and by the Sacraments."<sup>1</sup> This Russian Catechism, like our own, speaks of a Society whose members are united together by outward and visible bonds. According to Khomiakoff the unity of the Church is an invisible unity of Divine grace.

But then, how are we to know where the Church is? Khomiakoff distinguishes between a visible Church and an invisible Church. But "it is only in relation to man," he says, "that it is possible to recognize a division of the Church into visible and invisible; her unity is, in reality, true and absolute. Those who live on earth, those who have finished their earthly course, those who, like the angels, were not created for a life on earth, those in future generations who have not yet begun their earthly course, are all united

<sup>1</sup> *Prostranny khristianski Katikhizis pravoslavnyiia Rafolitcheskiiia vostotchnyia Tserkvi*. "The Longer Christian Catechism of the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church." Moscow, Synodal Printin Press, 1902.

together in one Church, in one and the same grace of GOD. . . . The Church visible, or upon earth, lives in complete communion and unity with the whole body of the Church, of which Christ is the Head. She has, abiding within her, Christ and the grace of the Holy Spirit in all their living fullness, but not in the fullness of their manifestation, for she acts and knows not fully, but only so far as it pleases GOD." <sup>1</sup>

Since there exists upon earth a visible Church, Khomiakoff without doubt will proceed to point her out to us, or at least to tell us by what signs we are able to recognize her. Vain hope.

"The earthly Church which, from the creation of the world, has continued uninterruptedly upon the earth, and will continue until the accomplishment of all the works of GOD," possesses *notes* which are her own: "Inward holiness, which does not allow of any admixture of error, for the Spirit of Truth lives within her; and outward unchangeableness, for Christ, her Preserver and Head, does not change". But these notes of the Church, both inward and outward, "are recognized only by herself, and by those whom grace calls to be members of her. To those indeed, who are alien from her, and are not called to her, they are unintelligible." <sup>2</sup>

Is it of the Church on earth or the invisible Church that Khomiakoff speaks, when he enumerates for us the manifestations of the Spirit of GOD within the Church? "The Spirit of GOD," he says, "Who lives in the Church, ruling her and making her wise, manifests Himself within her in divers manners; in Holy Scripture, in Tradition, and in Works; for the Church

<sup>1</sup> *The Unity of the Church*, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 194.



which does the works of GOD, is the same Church which preserves tradition, and which has written the Scriptures. Neither individuals, nor a multitude of individuals within the Church, preserve tradition or write the Scriptures, but the Spirit of GOD, which lives in the whole body of the Church. Therefore it is neither right nor possible to look for the grounds of tradition in the Scriptures, nor for the proof of Scripture in tradition, nor for the warrant of Scripture or tradition in works. To a man living outside the Church neither her Scripture, nor her tradition, nor her works are comprehensible. But to the man who lives within the Church and is united to the Spirit of the Church, their unity is manifest by the grace which lives within her.”<sup>1</sup>

Briefly then, the manifestations of the Holy Spirit within the Church, equally with the notes of the Church, can only be known by one who is in the Church and who already knows the Church. He who is outside can comprehend nothing about her, absolutely nothing.

The further we progress the less we see why Khomiakoff has told us that there is a visible Church upon earth.

“The visible Church,” he says further on, “is not the visible society of Christians, but the Spirit of GOD and the grace of the Sacraments living in this society. Wherefore even the visible Church is visible only to the believer; for to the unbeliever a Sacrament is only a rite, and the Church merely a Society. The believer, while with the eyes of the body and of reason he sees the Church in her outward manifestations only, by the

<sup>1</sup> *The Unity of the Church*, p. 198.



Spirit takes knowledge of her in her Sacraments and prayers and works well pleasing to GOD. Wherefore he does not confuse her with the Society which bears the name of Christians, for not every one that saith, 'Lord, Lord,' really belongs to the chosen race and to the seed of Abraham. But the true Christian knows by faith that the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church will never disappear from the face of the earth until the last judgment of all creation, that she will remain on earth invisible to fleshly eyes, or to the understanding which is wise according to the flesh, among the visible society of Christians, exactly in the same way as she remains visible to the eye of faith in the Church beyond the grave, but invisible to the bodily eyes."<sup>1</sup>

If I understand clearly, the visible Church, as well as the invisible Church, can only be discerned with the eye of faith; she only appears before the gaze of one who is capable of seeing the invisible Church. Hence the expressions "Visible Church" and "Invisible Church" seem very ill chosen.

"The Christian also knows," Khomiakoff continues, "that the Church upon Earth, although it is invisible, is always clothed in a visible form; that there neither was, nor could have been, nor ever will be a time in which the Sacraments will be mutilated, holiness will be dried up, or doctrine will be corrupted."<sup>2</sup> This visible form which clothes the invisible Church of the Earth, to whom is it visible? Without doubt, it is still to the believer alone, for Khomiakoff has told us that the Sacraments are only rites to the profane person; he has placed Holiness among the number of the notes

<sup>1</sup> *The Unity of the Church*, pp. 204, 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 205.

of the Church, notes visible only from within, and finally, he delights in repeating that the doctrine of the Church is known only to those who are in the Church. Why then does he tell us that the invisible Church is clothed in a visible form?

Such a theory is highly discouraging to one who does not happen to be in the Church, as Khomiakoff understands her. Wherever we knock we receive the same answer: The Church is only visible to those who are in the Church; they alone know her who are her members.

Khomiakoff understood that there exists within the Church a principle of life which only the eyes of faith are able to see there; only those who *believe* in the Divinity of the Church really *know* it. He understood also that only those who are called by grace enter the Church; no amount of reasoning can give her Faith to one who does not receive the Light from on high. These are very ancient verities. Preoccupied with opposing them to the "Rationalism" of the West, Khomiakoff has forgotten other verities, or at least he has not sufficiently often remembered them. When he tells us that "a believer knows the Truth, but an unbeliever does not know It, or at least only knows It with an external and imperfect knowledge,"<sup>1</sup> we are in agreement with him. But why affirm at this point that "Christian knowledge is a matter, not of intellectual investigation, but of a living faith, which is a gift of grace?"<sup>2</sup> As if intellectual investigation and the co-operation of man with GOD were absolutely to no purpose in the Faith. Why discourage all effort of the intellect? why condemn all inquiry? Why declare

<sup>1</sup> *The Unity of the Church*, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 199.

that "every one that seeks for proofs of the Truth of the Church, by that very act either shows his doubt, and excludes himself from the Church, or assumes the appearance of one who doubts, and at the same time preserves a hope of proving the Truth, and arriving at It by his own power of reason".<sup>1</sup> There are reasons for believing the Truth of the Church, and it is possible to seek for them without falling into doubt and without denying the necessity of grace. What in his controversy with Catholics and Protestants is Khomiakoff himself aiming at, except it be to give reasons for the statement which we find at the end of his little treatise upon the *Unity of the Church*? "By the Will of GOD, the Holy Church, after the falling away of many Schisms, and of the Roman Patriarchate, was preserved in the Greek Eparchies and Patriarchates, and only those communities can acknowledge one another as fully Christian, which preserve their unity with the Eastern Patriarchates, or enter into this unity."<sup>2</sup>

More than once, however, Khomiakoff has had to modify his language, following the necessities of the discussion, and this is why we are never sure of having grasped his thought. When he reproaches Protestants as follows, "The supposition of an invisible Church, lost for some centuries in the midst of a religious society professing erroneous doctrines and dogmas, and celebrating rites unworthy of Christianity,"<sup>3</sup> he no longer hesitates to give the name "Church" to the visible society of Christians. "The Church," he says, in her terrestrial mission is at one and the same time, both visible and invisible. She is, in fact, the society

<sup>1</sup> *The Unity of the Church*, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Église latine, etc.*, p. 275.

of GOD'S elect, a body and a soul ; and in this sense the Church is invisible. But she is also the society of men who, whatever their inward and individual life may be, recognize the principle of the Christian life, and, at least in appearance, submit themselves to it. That principle is mutual love in Jesus Christ, which brings with it its fruits, holiness and the knowledge of Divine mysteries, that is to say, the Faith. As long as this love exists, as long as it is allowed by all to enter within them, the visible Church subsists, whatever may be the general ignorance with regard to outward things, whatever may often be the individual corruption or the gross nature of civil and political relationships, produced by the historical destiny of nations. . . .

"In a word, therefore, there exists a visible Church, whose unity is maintained by the mutual love of Christians. Now we understand why Khomiakoff was so anxious to prove, that in the unfortunate matter of the *Filioque* the West, by a *moral fratricide*, had sinned against mutual love, against the very principle of Christian unity.

" . . . The Spirit of GOD," says Khomiakoff, "Who speaks in Holy Scripture, Who, through the sacred Tradition of the Church, teaches and enlightens, cannot be understood by the reason. He is only accessible to the whole fullness of the human mind under the inspiration of grace. To handle the Faith and its mysteries in the sole light of reason is, in the eyes of a Christian, an act of audacity as extravagant as it is condemnable. The Light which descends from Heaven and permeates the whole soul of man, is that alone which can serve as his guide, and the Power which the Holy Spirit gives is that alone which can bring him



into those boundless regions in which the GODHEAD manifests Itself. . . . The Holy Church is immortal, the Tabernacle of the Holy Spirit, bearing Christ in her bosom, her Saviour, and her Head, united with Him in the closest bonds that human words can express, and the human mind can conceive, the Church alone has both the right and the power to contemplate the heavenly majesty and to penetrate its mysteries. . . . The fullness of the Spirit of the Church is neither a collective nor an abstract Being ; it is the Spirit of GOD Who knows Himself and could not ignore Himself. It was the whole Church which drew up the Holy Scriptures ; it is she who has caused them to live in Tradition ; or rather the two manifestations of the same Spirit are composed of one only ; for Scripture is written tradition and tradition is living Scripture. . . .”<sup>1</sup>

“Faith is the result of a Revelation admitted as such ; it is the belief in an invisible fact manifested by a visible fact : but it is not a purely logical and rational belief ; it is far more than that. It is not an act of the reason alone, but an act of all the powers of the intellect, grasped and subjugated to its utmost depth by the living verity of the revealed fact. It is not merely thought or experienced, but thought and experienced at the same time. In a word, it is not knowledge only, but knowledge and life at the same time. It is evident that an examination into the questions which bear relation to the Faith, borrows from it its own character and differs totally from examination as we usually understand it. . . . From the multiplicity of its data, as well as by reason of its

<sup>1</sup> *L'Église latine*, etc., pp. 44, 45.



aim, which is living and not merely logical truth, it demands the use of all the powers of the intellect, both in the region of the will as well as in that of the reason, and the close examination of these powers themselves. That is to say, not only must the visible Universe be taken into consideration, but the power and purity of the visual organ.

"Its starting point, therefore, is a most humble avowal of its feebleness ; because not merely would it require the pride of Satan, but a mental alienation without name, for man to lay claim both to moral perfection and the perfection of reason ; and yet that is what he must do in order to claim individual independence for himself, seeing that the shadow of sin in this system already implies the possibility of error, or rather its necessity, in the case of the man who allows himself to put excessive reliance upon his own powers or upon the gifts of grace, which have been vouchsafed to him personally. Truth can only exist, therefore, where holiness without blemish resides, that is to say, in the whole of the Universal Church, which is the manifestation of the Holy Spirit in humanity. . . .<sup>1</sup>

"Christianity possesses its own logical expression, confined within the Creed : but this logical expression is not detached from other manifestations : It has its own logical teaching also, which we call *Theology* ; but this is only a branch of the general instruction ; to make it a prerogative is folly ; to make it a celestial endowment linked on to certain Offices is a heresy ; that is to institute the mystery or the Sacrament of Rationalism. . . ."

"The Church does not recognize a teaching Church

<sup>1</sup> *L'Église latine*, etc., pp. 50-53.

other than herself in her totality. . . ."<sup>1</sup> This is an incontestable dogmatical fact. The Patriarchs of the East, assembled in council with their bishops, in their reply to an Encyclical of Pius IX, solemnly declared that "Infallibility resided solely in the Universality of the Church, united by mutual love; and that unchangeability of Dogma as well as the purity of rites, were entrusted to the custody, not of any Hierarchy whatsoever, but of all ecclesiastical persons who constitute the body of Christ".<sup>2</sup>

How is it that certain councils "are rejected although they present no apparent difference to Œcumenical Councils"? It is because their decisions have not been recognized as being the voice of the Church by all ecclesiastical people, by that people among whom, with regard to questions of faith, there is no difference between the literate and the ignorant, the ecclesiastic and the layman, the man and the woman, the sovereign and his subject, the master and the slave, among whom when it is necessary, according to the Will of GOD, the young man receives the gift of vision and the child the word of wisdom, and the illiterate shepherd unmasks and refutes the heresy of his learned bishop, so that all may be one only in the free unity of the living faith, which is the manifestation of the Spirit of GOD. . . .<sup>3</sup>

"That which GOD has deigned to reveal to us, that which the Church has declared in the past by the Bible, by Councils, or by the meaning of traditional rite, is bestowed upon us. The knowledge of that which has been manifested and the continual mani-

<sup>1</sup> *L'Église latine*, etc., p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 48, 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 62.

festation of that knowledge, the contemporaneous study of the Church, all this is entrusted to the liberty of our thought, and it is the harmony of the thought of individuals, enlightened by the grace of GOD, which constitutes the general thought of the Church.

"But individual thought is by no means merely the reflection of the analytical and rationalizing spirit; it is the manifestation of the whole moral being. . . . An outward unity, which rejects liberty, is in consequence no real unity, and such is Romanism. An outward liberty, which does not present unity, is in consequence no real liberty, and such is the Reformation. But the mystery of the unity of Christ and of His Elect, set in operation by means of its human liberty, has been revealed within the Church by the real unity and real liberty of the faithful. . . . The intellectual liberty of the faithful is subject to no outward authority, but the justification of this liberty lies in its own agreement with the Church, and the measure of that justification lies in the consent of all the faithful. . . .<sup>1</sup>

"The Church did not receive from the blessed Apostles a heritage of words, but a heritage of inward life, a heritage of inexpressible thought, which however has always a tendency to express itself. The Word of the Church varies in order to bear testimony to the infinitude of conception: otherwise that Word would be no more than a material echo, rolling on from age to age, but only manifesting the sterility, the coma, or the complete absence of intellectual labour.

"We see this from the very first: if the mysterious and eternally adorable name of Son of GOD had em-

<sup>1</sup> *L'Église Latine*, etc., pp. 283-90.

braced the whole Christian conception of Him Who was incarnate for our salvation, why did He yet receive the Divine appellation of 'The Eternal Word'? or if the appellation the 'Word' was necessary in order to express that conception, why was it not declared from the commencement of the preaching of the Gospel? The scholars of our age exclaim development; the Germans even characterize this development by naming it the doctrine of the Word (*die Logos-lehre*); but these expressions are all void of meaning. Indeed at times, while reading the works of the Apostles prior to S. John, we are seized with a kind of involuntary discontent, at not finding in them that expression which is so characteristic and sheds its rays from the very first lines of his Gospel.

"The expressions 'The Image of the Father,' 'the brightness of His Glory,' and others similar to these, reveal to us very much the same thought as that which is contained within the expression 'The Word,' but indicate it with less clearness. Was this expression therefore an advance within the Church? By no means. The fullness of the thought within the Church had already made itself felt in the expressions of S. Paul, but the hearer has changed. The Jew, the Roman, the Greek artisan, would never have understood anything if S. Paul had spoken of the 'Word'; that expression would never have aroused in their mind any conception; to them it would have merely been an expression bereft of any meaning. But a new personal element, and a new historical spirit had just allied themselves with the Church of Christ; these were the pupils of Greek Philosophy.

"The more concise and clear expression which up to



then would not have been understood, became possible, and S. John obliges us to listen to it, and the Church, with the return of her most triumphant solemnity, repeats it with gladness. Are we to understand that the Church discovered a word to express her thought? What? The 'Word,' the articulation, this fugitive sound in the air, or this engraved and speechless token, this conventional and changeable something, this something which possesses nothing in itself, which possesses no peculiar or personal life, would this be an expression to embrace and define the Divine Essence, our Saviour, Him Who is the Life and Absolute Truth? Such a supposition is inadmissible. No: the Church rejoiced, not for having expressed her thought, but for having shown clearly to her children a thought which no human language could express. . . .

"Generally speaking, it is the heresies or false definitions which have provided the Sons of the Church with the opportunities of enunciating the Truth in more severe and more definite formulæ. But the scientific spirit, so to speak, of ecclesiastical terminology has really no need of these errors in order to manifest itself: it proceeds quite naturally from the need of showing that Christian doctrine is not a collection of expressions learned by heart and retained in the memory; but it is an approximate expression of a Divine truth constantly contemplated and comprehended by the inmost intelligence of GOD'S children. This truth remains throughout the ages the same; the knowledge of this truth does not change; but the expression of this truth, ever unsatisfying, changes of necessity, in company with the development of



analytical language, and in accordance with the character of the intellectual customs of each period. . . . Mankind reflects, and seeks to give expression to his reflection by means of language. The Church considers this language, and approves when it is true, or condemns it whenever it is either erroneous or likely to put the intellect of the faithful upon wrong roads, or when it is proud and pretends to comprehend truths which she alone can indicate. That is why mankind, ever blind and protestant by reason of his moral imperfection, always finds himself in the presence of the Church, which is seeing and Catholic, because she is holy, through the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the grace of mutual love in Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup>

These lengthy quotations, if they do not suffice to represent all the shades of Khomiakoff's thought, at least show sufficiently clear, it seems to me, what the questions were which absorbed this powerful mind, and the way in which he sought for a solution. We speak to-day, more than ever perhaps, of Faith and Science, of Faith and Life, of Faith and Dogma, of Faith and Theology; we repeat the expressions Development and Progress, which were not agreeable to Khomiakoff: of the pages which he wrote fifty years ago, evidently much still remains in actual fact. Beneath the ardent defender of the immovable Orthodox Church of the East, we recognize the disciple of the modern philosophies of the West.

These are the essential lines. They show the interest with which Abbé Morel read the pages which he quotes at length. Let us not forget that he was

<sup>1</sup> *L'Église latine*, etc., pp. 291-300.

not ignorant of the movement of religious ideas in France, and that each of the abstract terms which he employs, *Faith and Science*, *Faith and Dogma*, *Faith and Life*, sum up the preoccupations of men who are well known and whom he knew well, M. Blondel, M. Laberthonnière, M. Le Roy, and M. Loisy. Altogether astonished at again meeting in a Russian theologian the questions which the most advanced criticism was raising in France, he said to himself that the Russians are decidedly not the superstitious reactionaries that legend depicts ; he also said to himself that since certain Russians have points of view which are similar to those of certain Frenchmen, there is a way in which they can be put in contact and brought to converse with each other. If, on the one hand, a more diligent study of Patristic Antiquity could bring Easterns and Westerns together, by recalling them to a religious position which would be common to both ; and if, on the other hand, the development of criticism and of Modern Science provokes, among the two peoples, the same intellectual crises and leads them to state the same problems in the same way, a man such as Morel, who knows how to read the Fathers, who is equipped with ability to understand them, who has had his own theological crisis and comprehends the questions of his own times, could work effectively for the cause of union. For it is indeed of union that he now thinks, and he no longer allows himself the right, so to speak, to study religious questions as a theologian of the study.

In England he had studied the conditions of this union in full reality, and also at the Seminary of Saint-Vincent de Paul, where the Abbé Portal, after a ringing campaign, would share his experience with him, in

daily conversations. He learned in this way that in the Roman Church, amongst those who desire a real and sound union, there are three distinct parties.

Some desire that the Catholic Church and the dissentient Churches should unite themselves together by a kind of political treaty.

An agreement should be signed between the Pope on the one hand, and on the other by the King or Tsar, the Archbishops or the Synod ; some disciplinary concessions being granted, the unification of beliefs should be effected in the Latin *Credo*,<sup>1</sup> under the authority of the Pope. This scheme manifestly could only be accomplished by persons in high position ; it is a dream of ambassadors. We know with what breadth of view and enthusiasm Pope Leo XIII set himself to realize it ; and we also know how he had to acknowledge that the enterprise was little practicable.

Others, humble-minded missionaries, imagine that complete union will be brought about by the individual conversions of dissentients, and encouraged by some isolated successes, the importance of which is exaggerated by the press, they think that they have reached the time when Anglicans and Russians will proceed to enter the Roman Church. That procedure appeared chimerical to those who were directing the English campaign in 1895 ; and, if we revert to the address delivered by the Abbé Portal in London, we shall see that he and his friends did not believe that the system of individual conversions could ever lead to an important movement in the general body of people.

They preferred a combined action of Church with Church, which would give to authority a large share

<sup>1</sup> That is the creed containing the *filioque* clause.—[E. J. I. D.]

in the initiative and a preponderant share in the conclusion of the enterprise, without however precluding that common action of the people, the social changes of which compel consideration to-day. As with diplomatic action, this method safeguards the principle of authority, which is the foundation of Catholicity, without prejudicing the question of individual rights with regard to the truth. It establishes charity between the bodies as well as between individuals, and by means of amicable relationships and labours in common effects, that drawing together of intellects and wills, which is the very condition of union. The union obtained in this way without doubt is political in the sense that there are two large bodies which draw close to each other, but the movement is called forth and maintained by a strong impulse of minds and hearts.

This third method also miscarried ; and the fervent apostles of union, both in France and in England, were obliged to abandon everything which could savour of diplomacy in their proceedings and to resign themselves to a more modest method of action. Now these were precisely the men whom Abbé Morel had encountered and it was their spirit with which he was imbued.

They had got as far as to say to themselves that union is chimerical so long as it is not accomplished in minds and hearts. It must be accomplished therefore in hearts wherein shall daily penetrate a little more, the feeling that schism is a misfortune, and that it is necessary that Christ's disciples should form one single flock.

It must be accomplished in minds by a thorough study of the very essence of religion ; the day on which we come to see that this is identical in the



now separated communions, it will be more easy to pass over accidental divergencies in order to give the hand to one another. It was expedient, therefore, to establish groups of men in each country, who, subsisting upon these ideas, would be determined to work in accordance with these principles. These groups should afterwards put themselves in connexion with each other : each should endeavour to impart its own value to the other in a spirit of charity and not of jealousy, being convinced that we bring an alien confession nearer to our own, not by proving its inferiority, but by augmenting its life. These principles which have already been partly explained in the preceding chapters became the basis of Abbé Morel's action, and it was with these dispositions that he set out upon his third journey to Russia.

We know what his hopes were from a letter addressed to Oxford from Paris, on November the 1st, 1904. "And then, who knows? perhaps the study of religious Russia will be taken up just at the time when we are taking an entirely new interest in her. In Russia there is a general impression that the present war,<sup>1</sup> however it may end, will be followed by important reforms . . . what will these reforms be? and what effect will they have upon the Orthodox Church? Will they secure for it at least a certain measure of religious liberty? They assure me, that if Orthodoxy ceased to be obligatory, the collective mass of the Orthodox Church, which is so imposing in appearance, would be disintegrated. And then the religious history of modern England might be reproduced in Russia. Who knows whether we shall not some day see the

<sup>1</sup> The war between Russia and Japan.



*Catholic* nucleus of the Orthodox Church (by that is meant that which corresponds to *High Church* in the Anglican Communion) seeking a refuge from the 'Protestants' (that is the counterpart of *Low Church*) by the side of Rome? The *Catholics* of Orthodoxy have a great advantage over those of Anglicanism in the possession of an incontestable hierarchy. They would have the disadvantage of being very ignorant ; all the more reason for their being in need of us."

Seeing that he compares Russia to England, there is nothing surprising in the fact that he was faithful at least in the main, to the English attitude. His journal, which is so meagre with regard to opinions, but so scrupulous in the detail of facts, contains no trace of political action. It is no less certain that Abbé Morel did not participate in the contempt of many Catholics for "Schismatics". He loved the Russians ; at times respectfully. It is with pleasure that he notes this opinion of a Grand Seigneur. "Underlying the religious practices of the people there often exists much real religion. In the same way, beneath the insignificance of priests and monks at times there exists real moral power." He encountered one such at Valaam, in the person of the monk Nikita. "We went on board the boat which was getting ready to depart. We learned that Sacha had told Skhimonakh Nikita that the general's wife, 'Gueneralcha,' wanted him upon the landing stage. The monk had come down three times, so it appears, and had not seen any boat. The count told the hostess to call back in good earnest the Skhimonakh, whom, however, we had seen a second time in the refectory, and whom the count had already overwhelmed with manifestations of respect.

"Father Nikita went on board the boat, and seated himself in the cabin, between M. M. . . . and the countess. They crowded round him. I could only put my head in through the doorway. The monk saluted them and asked what they wanted of him. They replied that they wanted a moment's conversation with him. 'What is there to tell you,' he replied, 'except that which is in the Gospel? Love one another; judge not; pray, etc. . . .' From time to time he broke off to ask why they did him so much honour. The ladies wept and I believe every one was moved. The perfect simplicity and deep conviction with which the monk spoke had something touching about it, and especially when it concerns an old man, whose life was nothing else than a colloquy with GOD."

Morel himself ended in understanding Russian piety: "I ought to consider myself most fortunate in having met here Count H., whose piety, which to me at first appeared puerile, ended in compelling my great respect. It is a very demonstrative piety, which manifests itself in numerous signs of the Cross, numerous bowings and kissings of Ikons, with the set purpose of allowing nothing to be neglected—which shows itself also in marks of respect towards the monks. After having considered all this exaggerated, I am beginning to regret the necessity which forces me to maintain a more complete reserve. One feels that all these gestures do good to the soul; the religion of the ignorant *moujik* is worth more than that of the Protestant scholar, who professes to worship GOD in the Spirit only."

With such sentiments, it was possible to "converse". Some of the Orthodox desired it. Here are two proofs

of this. In a letter to a friend of France: "One, M. K., who takes an interest in social questions, and who has shown himself most courteous in my direction, wants to know what are the best books and best reviews, by the help of which he could acquaint himself with the Catholic social movement. Will you ask for a small list from M. Max Turmann, or some other really competent person?" In the diary of his journey: "I have met with Bishop E., who told me that he is setting out shortly for the Holy Land with a band of professors and students. He appeared to be preoccupied with the question of reforms. The recruiting of the clergy, in particular, absorbs his mind. He asked me for details of our Seminaries, both small and great; and wanted to know if the clergy were sufficiently numerous. He appeared to be surprised that the bishops should be absolute masters in their own Seminaries. The Bishop asked me to come and dine with him at 5 o'clock."

This is how Abbé Morel understood the part he had to take in Russia. He saw the Russians, he conversed with them, simply and with affability, he gave out his whole soul. The sincerity of his scientific mind, as well as the asceticism of his continuous toil, impressed the Russian priests, who were astonished to see in this Roman priest, not the intriguer who wished to make conquests, but the brother who upon another altar consecrates the same Bread. This is how he inspired real friendships.

He was not slow, however, in perceiving that the work of mutual edification is very much more arduous in Russia than it is in England. In 1895, it had been a group of Englishmen and Frenchmen who desired

union: in 1905, it was Morel alone. The circle of his connexions had nobly extended (his journal mentions by name one or two hundred people of note), but he was not satisfied. Between the 29th of May and the 11th of June, 1905, he wrote: "On all sides I hear most interesting things, but I do not find the people of my dreams. Political questions are so absorbing that nobody thinks of anything else."

The difficulty stimulates without discouraging him. In 1905, he had provided the *Univers* with a series of six articles upon *La Question religieuse en Russie*,<sup>1</sup> (12th and 27th of March, 4th, 17th, and 22nd of April, and 21st of May). In the last, *L'Avenir de l'Église russe*,<sup>2</sup> he reveals his motives for hoping.

"The present hour is solemn because it marks the end of an evolution almost millenary, which has finally cast the Russian Church at the feet of the autocracy. The Russian Church, wrapt in the slumber of servitude, little by little, and assuredly very slowly, is about to awake to liberty. And the question that arises is whether, after having slept, as she has up to the present, in an isolation of which, with a strange want of perception, she is even proud, she will not now contract a habit of looking beyond the barriers, breaking down by degrees, which have enclosed Russia much too long; and whether she will not find herself more closely drawn to the Christians of the West, above all towards Catholics, from the necessity of facing the same difficulties and of herself supplying an answer to the problems which, in the intellectual or the social order, assert themselves everywhere the same in the modern world.

<sup>1</sup> "The Religious question in Russia."

<sup>2</sup> "The future of the Russian Church."



“The first result of the liberty of conscience, if it passes definitely into the order of facts, will very probably be to provoke some defections in the Russian Church. It is known that many of the Uniates of the Western provinces, having *per force* become Orthodox, only ask to return to Catholicism. Protestantism, under the name of *stundisme*,<sup>1</sup> has recruited numerous adherents in the South; it has sympathizers among the Orthodox peasants of those regions and awaits easy victories. The Old-Believers will also see their numbers increase, particularly in the North. Among the aristocracy convinced Orthodox are rare, and many devout minds feel themselves attracted by Catholicism; the indifferent are the most numerous; the day upon which official religion ceases to be obligatory, they will not be slow in detaching themselves.

“The Russian Church therefore, will suffer losses. In return, she calculates rightly, that if liberty is granted to the Old-Believers and to the ‘Heterodox,’ it will be granted to her also. She has good hopes of becoming something other than an administrative piece of the machinery of the State. There was hope at one time of the Patriarchate being re-established, and that thus the Russian Church would possess a Head. They were deceived, but the fever for reform which has declared itself does not seem to be on the point of coming to a halt. Needless to say it is sustained by the hopes of political freedom. This is not the place to examine in detail the schemes that are being discussed in reviews and newspapers, with a boldness which is of good

<sup>1</sup> A Protestant sect of German origin which has spread in South Russia, so named because its adherents meet in quiet hours (*stunden*) to read the Gospel.—[E. J. I. D.]



omen. The same desire manifests itself everywhere. They desire that the Church should be other than a wheel in the administrative machinery of the Empire, they desire that the supremacy of the monks should come to an end, and a legitimate share of influence be made over to the 'white'<sup>1</sup> clergy. They recall to mind that the Church is not a society composed of bishops only, or even of priests or deacons; the laity themselves are also her members: they claim the right of concerning themselves in the affairs of the Church, and the more far-seeing perceive with marvellous clearness, that it is at that price only that they will keep the Russian people attached to their religion.

"In reality, they know that among the lower classes who are simple and ignorant, Orthodoxy, under a régime of liberty, will have to encounter enemies of more than one kind. There will be a struggle not only against sectarians and the 'Heterodox,' but also against Socialism, which, amongst a people accustomed to a community of possessions, will find singularly favourable soil. It will be a new task for a Church till now confined within the dust of administrative waste-paper, or in the magnificence of liturgical rites. There is a social question in Russia as well as in the West, and the Russian Church, if she does not wish to accept her decay, will not be able to suffer this serious problem to be solved against her. We may expect to see the Orthodox coming to ask advice from the Encyclical *Rerum novarum*.

"If the Russian Church finds a formidable adversary in Socialism among the lower classes, she will have an

<sup>1</sup> That is to say the secular clergy, as opposed to the *black* clergy, or monks.—[E. J. I. D.]

adversary no less dangerous, in the shape of Modern Criticism, among the educated class. How many new questions have been raised among us by historians and philosophers these last hundred years? Their echo has passed over the Russian frontier, but no rumour of them has reached the ears of the Orthodox theologian. A censorship has been on the watch, attentive and merciless. It will not keep watch for ever, and the quietude which has taken pleasure in believing the Russian Church to be a perfect and exact copy of the Church of the beginning, will find itself violently shaken. It will be perceived that the controversy with unbelievers and Old-Believers, with Catholics and Protestants, such as have been carried on up to now, was mere child's play. They will have to sally forth from the fortress defended by the State; they will have to descend into the arena. Perhaps they will then perceive difficulties in their new task, perhaps they will then look in search of allies.

“And the ally by the side of whom they will fight the most often will be Catholicism. It was, only yesterday, the most formidable enemy, because it was the nearest, but if, in point of fact, the Orthodox are separated from Catholics upon certain points of Dogma, they have very much the same conception of Christianity. To-morrow, perhaps, for the Orthodox who have at heart the salvation of the real traditions of their Church, it will be a friend from whom they will willingly take advice and assistance.

“We shall see, we have seen already, diverse theological tendencies making their way within the Russian Church; some will lean in the direction of Protestantism, others in the direction of Catholicism. It will be

something like the *Low Church* and the *High Church* of the Anglican Church. They will perceive that there exists no tenable middle course between the Protestant and the Catholic conceptions. Newman could not discover the *Via Media* for which he sought. An Orthodox Newman would not meet with greater success.

"Will the Russian Church, in this way drawn close to us by considerations to which until now she has remained a stranger, proceed to union? That is GOD'S secret."

This secret Abbé Morel attempted to fathom in a letter which he wrote on the 29th of January, 1905, to one in high position in Russia.

It is given here in full:—

"YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"I am very grateful to you for the letter which you have been so kind as to write to me, and for the interest to which you are good enough to testify in the *Revue Catholique des Églises*.<sup>1</sup> For us it is an encouragement to which we attach very great value.

"It is not sufficient, you say, for Christians of various confessions, to unite together for the purpose of outward action in opposition to a common enemy. This common action is desirable: it appears to be more and more necessary. But, in order to re-establish the unity of the Church, something else is needed first of all, and that is a doctrinal understanding. That is true, and it is also true that all attempts at doctrinal union will necessarily make their appeal to the doctrine taught by the Church of the East and the Church of

<sup>1</sup> "The Catholic Review of the Churches."

the West together, at the period when they were not separated from each other. But we have a strange spectacle before us. In the East and in the West we see men whose knowledge nobody can contest, and whose good faith no one can suspect, all of whom profess to believe that which the Christians of the first centuries believed. And these men are not in agreement with each other.

“Of this fact, I see but one explanation ; which is that, on this side and on that, they regard Christian Antiquity from different points of view. The state of mind of the one is not the state of mind of the other, and after twelve or fifteen centuries have passed away, neither of them can possess the same state of mind as the Christians of Ancient Rome and of the primitive East.

“The two halves of the Roman Empire, made Christian at a time when a like civilization, the Greco-Roman, was everywhere exerting its influence, very soon ceased to possess a common history. Two different worlds took shape, and each of the two has had its own civilization apart from the other. Little by little they have ceased to know each other and to understand each other ; intercourse which was frequent at first became more rare. The two halves of the Church gradually grew accustomed to living apart : a mutual antipathy arose between the West and the East, and outward unity, maintained with great difficulty, ended by being broken to pieces.

“As to the rupture of the sixteenth century, manifestly it was not caused by the differences of civilization. Within the Church a reformation was necessary : there was a *revolution*, and it was a great misfortune. The



revolution once accomplished, both Catholics and Protestants for a long while preserved a hope of reconciliation. Both, in spite of their quarrels, had received their education from the theologians of the Middle Ages, and there they had common ground. The first attempts miscarried, and generations passed away. To-day, the state of mind of a Protestant and that of a Catholic have become things so different, that we are no longer in a condition to understand each other. When it is a question of religion, they no longer look at the same object in the same way.

“The consequence of this fact is, that controversies generally come to nothing, except it be mutual accusations of bad faith. If things are like this, we cannot take one step in the direction of the doctrinal union of Christians, except by trying to modify these different states of mind and to make them tend towards one common state of mind. This common *mentalité* will be neither that of the French, nor yet of the Germans or the Russians ; it will be neither Western nor Eastern. A like state of mind can only be formed slowly, by means of intercourse between people and people. It will be formed first of all within those who have the opportunity of seeing and of studying different countries : it will then be formed among those upon whom these possess some influence. It will only be by each freeing himself from the habits of mind of his own country and his own times, that we shall really humanize ourselves, and that each will develop within himself that which he has of the truly human. It is in the same way, upon the religious ground, that we can attain a state of mind which is really *Catholic*, a state of mind needful for receiving in an *Orthodox* fashion the tradition of our



Fathers in the Faith. The less we submit ourselves to the prejudices of one period or of one place, the more are we universal and *Catholic*, and the more also are we prepared to understand within the doctrine, that which is above all differences of place and time, and in consequence that which is 'Orthodox'.

"Thus, the unity of the Church depends upon the unification of all civilizations. This unification, of course, would be altogether relative ; each race will necessarily preserve its own character. But a more and more frequent intercourse between the various nations, will have as an inevitable result a mutual influence more and more active. And for my part, I am persuaded that the West has much to gain from a better knowledge of the Slavonic races, and notably the Russians. In the civilization of the future each race will have the part to do which it will know how to perform. It will be necessary then that those who will present religion to the world should present, not something that is French or German, Latin or Greek, but a *human* thing. It is only by being really human, by adapting itself to all men of every country, that religion shows itself Divine.

"Meanwhile, the labour to be accomplished is a long one. Every day it is being performed with more fervency, and if one cannot dream of fixing a date for this union, we may, however, hope that it will take place.

"In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, Catholics and Protestants studied the Fathers of the Church in view of their polemics. They endeavoured far less to *know* exactly what the Fathers had taught, than to prove that the Fathers condemned

the adversary. They did not think of instructing themselves, but of fighting. Each was so convinced that his own way of understanding religion was the only true way, that he did not think of teaching himself any more, but solely of imposing his own particular conception upon others. All this has changed now. We no longer study the Fathers in order to prove that we are right in opposition to every one else: we study them in order to know them. The adversaries of former days have become collaborators, who labour with equal eagerness to bring Christian Antiquity to life again. Amongst men occupied in this way at the same work, and often obliged mutually to admire one another, many prejudices fall away. We cease to injure and accuse each other. We do not find ourselves in agreement upon all points, because in spite of his good-will each is always subject to influences from which it is impossible for him to escape; but nevertheless, the points of contact increase every day. And the Fathers of the Church, studied in this way and better understood, gradually exert a salutary influence upon minds, which they could not exert at the time when men thought only of combatting each other. The workers of the various confessions are gradually arriving at a sufficiently proximate state of mind. That is a big step indeed. Each of them therefore has to labour to free those around him from the prejudices from which he has first of all freed himself. This second step will demand more time, but it will be done.

“The practice of controversy has not only, in many cases, caused the true meaning of the Fathers of the Church to be misunderstood. It has had another

result which is none the less deplorable. People have been so busy with fighting the adversary, that they have not taken the time to know exactly what they have themselves taught. Hence, misunderstandings accumulated, and, in proportion as each got farther away from the other, became more difficult to remedy. To-day, when we have not the same confidence in the utility of polemics, we believe it to be necessary, on the contrary, thoroughly to know the teaching of our neighbours, and we generally perceive that it is not so denuded of reason as we have heard it declared to be.

“ There is here an excellent opportunity for reflection, the result of which is generally a more deep and more complete knowledge of the various aspects of the same religious truth. Yet another step in the direction of union.

“ Finally, I see two ways of bringing near the date of the union of Christians: A study of Christian Antiquity, begun and carried on with a desire to receive respectfully the Heritage of our Fathers; then mutual relations between the various bodies of Christians. The less we make use of controversy the better it will be. Courteous relationships between Christians not merely result in each knowing the other better; they have yet another result: we respect each other, and where that is so, the desire for union becomes greater and we toil with quite another eagerness to realize it. It is in this sense I imagine that the author of the article in the *Revue Catholique* desires to see Catholics and Protestants unite themselves together against the enemies of religion. This union, entirely outward at its starting-point, establishes relationships between

men who are busy at the same work. We are seized with regret for the divisions which separate Christians, and we dream in spite of ourselves of a union closer and more profound. We are learning to know and to appreciate one another, and that is much.

"Forgive me, your Excellency, for the length of this letter. If I were not assured of your benevolence I should not dare to post it. If you should think it well to address a few observations to the *Revue Catholique* upon the subject of the union of the Churches—as also upon any other subject within its scope—it would certainly be most happy to receive them. It had thought once of making, amongst eminent personages of foreign lands, a sort of inquiry, similar to that which has been carried on in France with respect to the union of the Churches. In that case, it would not fail to ask for your opinion. But I am not so sure that the present moment would be well chosen for an inquiry of this nature.

"Condescend to receive kindly the expression of the very high esteem with which I am your Excellency's most humble and devoted servant,

"G. MOREL.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY

"MONSIEUR LE GENERAL KIRÉIEFF,  
"AU CHÂTEAU DE PAVLOVSK."

This letter has never before been printed; we feel that the style has been worked up for the sake of precision rather than for effect: who would not admire the breadth of mind and sincerity with which Morel has defined "Catholicism" and "Orthodoxy"? It is there pointed out, that religion is so much the more *Divine*, the more *human* it is. Upon pages such as these, the very details are noble. When Morel speaks of



the study of the Fathers as a means of realizing union, we must recall to mind that it was precisely upon the Fathers that his course of lectures at *l'Institut Catholique* bore: there were not two men within him, the sedentary man and the traveller: the endeavour for union convinced him of the utility of his own teaching, and his teaching prepared priests to accelerate the union. His life as it grows richer is more and more one. I shall tell the story of the last days of Abbé Morel elsewhere. The week before his death he again wrote to the Abbé Portal about his hopes as to the ultimate success of the work. "My journey has furnished me with evidence concerning two famous monasteries; material would not be wanting for the purpose of writing a few articles; however, it is probable that the time will be lacking.

"My stay in S. Petersburg has yielded, I think, the results which one could reasonably hope for. It has not produced those of which we dream, I have not put my hand upon the man we want, and I ask myself whether the state of mind of which we are in search, exists anywhere in Russia.

· · · · ·  
"In S. Petersburg I found myself in touch with two kinds of people. There were those who, if transplanted to England, would be extreme *ritualists*, more ritualist than Catholics, laying hold of religion in little ways. They are most sympathetic towards Catholicism, and sometimes have a liking for that in Catholicism which we should be disposed to blame. Those are not the men we want. The other category is frankly and obstinately *Orthodox*. . . . These are the people who think they possess the truth in so perfect a fashion that it is superfluous for them to look beyond



their frontiers and to interrogate the rest of humanity. . . . They interest themselves in the political situation of Catholicism in France; they will even read Loisy, but in short, they take no account of the movement of religious thought amongst us. . . . Do you understand? These people are too old. We want young men, less dignified or less advanced. Pray that Providence may put such an one on our path. . . .

"And then, I must say that the time is ill-chosen for speaking about anything other than Politics. I think we must resign ourselves to be patient for a little while. The state of mind of which we are in quest will issue from the new conditions which will be created for the Russian Church. That is a matter of a few years.

. . . . .

"I own that I experienced extreme delight at Archangel, in reading your letter and the cuttings which you enclosed. The separation of Church and State in France, the upheavals and reforms in Russia will work in our favour. . . .

"All the same, I shall be grateful to you if you will send me very soon another good letter of the same kind.

"Believe, my dear Superior, in my complete respect and affection—my best compliments to M. Vidal and M. Aroud—And the examinations?

"G. MOREL."

These lines are venerable to us because they are among the last that anyone received from him. And the last word they contain is for those young priests, the solicitude for whose training had urged him to the priesthood. The cycle of his life closes on the dreams of his childhood's vocation.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE LAST YEARS.

IN order to give the account of Abbé Morel's work in Russia, and at *l'Institut Catholique* of Paris, I have been obliged to neglect chronological order, and to anticipate events. I now go back, and taking a peep as it were, at the period as a whole, which embraces the years of 1903, 1904, and 1905, I am going to attempt to reveal the ultimate form which his thought and soul assumed.

Various influences were at work upon him during these last years, but they were of a harmonious nature. In the first place, the Seminary of Saint-Vincent de Paul was becoming more and more his natural sphere ; he was at home there ; he became a part of it, and those who had not known it without him readily imagined that he had been there always. Russia, after his second journey, had captivated his heart ; it appears as though his meditative Vosgian mind adapted itself easily to the mysticism of the Slavonic mind. He loved the Russians, he thought of them and their religious needs, and he desired to make them known and to do them good. The letters that he received from England, the accounts that were given him by friends younger than himself, who came back again from London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and even from Hickleton, proved to him that the cause of union was each day gaining

ground. He began to say to himself that the time for attempting a religious movement was come.

This movement was possible; but where were the labourers? Morel, who had always believed in the action of Providence, was not surprised to see at the desired moment young priests and young laymen grouping themselves around l'Abbé Portal, thoroughly determined to study the question of the Churches, and to prepare for union in their own minds and in society. Manifestly it was GOD'S hour: if union will only be possible upon the day when, in the Roman Church and in the separated Churches, there exist groups of men who desire it, who understand its conditions, and who urge it forward by their longings and their labours, it is a great sign of its approach, when groups of this kind are to be seen forming themselves in France. Morel also keenly interested himself in the organization of the *Société des Études religieuses*; he was particularly struck with the Apostolic spirit of the young laymen; he intended himself to supply what was lacking in their theological training by genuine courses of lectures, and he regarded them as the best of workmen, because they were more free and more readily listened to, among our separated brethren, in atmospheres so different to our own. Their hearty interest suppressed his final hesitations, and with the tone of one who definitely sees his way, he said to l'Abbé Portal, "Since Providence sends us young men such as these, there remains nothing for it but to go forward."

It was this sentiment which made him decide to devote himself entirely to the *Revue catholique des Églises*, which had been founded with the aid of his wide co-operation and which immediately seemed to

be animated by his spirit. He loved it as his own possession; he was proud of it; he used to devote a good portion of his time to the preparation of each number; and those who knew the care for accuracy which he carried into everything, will understand the attention with which he examined every word of it. He had indeed an anxious solicitude for the truth; besides, to give the right of publication was a serious resolution for which he prepared carefully and which, it seemed to him, was sufficient for the occupation of a whole day; by the side of a large number of dates, in his private diary, these simple words are written: "Permission given to send to the press". Thus, even in action, the man of the study is again encountered, with all his qualities as well as his own peculiarities.

But, as day succeeded day, he ceased to be merely intellectual and withdrew himself from speculative points of view. I remember, as though it were yesterday, a conversation that I had with him one summer evening when returning from Port-Royal-des-Champs. In company with l'Abbé Portal and M. Luret, a pleasant almoner of the neighbourhood who acted as our guide, we had spent the day in the Bois de Granges and amongst the ruins of the monastery. The melancholy landscape, still thoroughly impregnated with stern meditations, worked forcibly upon Morel, who spoke little, looked long at everything, and took up the most "Jansenist" points of view. On our return, as we followed the road which passes along the foot of the Château de Vaumurier, where Pascal dwelt and wrote some of his *Provinciales*, Morel, who had been thinking deeply, began to enter freely into conversation. He spoke in short sentences, which were abrupt and

incisive, now smiling and presently relapsing into sadness. He ended up by saying to me: "All the same, *caro mio*, these heretics were brave people and madly French. They did not make of religion a bargain with GOD. Theologians observe in the Gospel, precepts and counsels, precepts obligatory and counsels optional. Ah! those optional counsels! Nicole, Arnaud, and Pascal ought to have been told that GOD gives us optional counsels! But the least sign from GOD creates an obligation! And our Jansenists, as soon as they imagined that they saw that sign, started off without looking behind them. Is that your ideal? Ah! no indeed. That is not what I meant to say. I meant to say just the contrary. These men were very good. Well, that is not the point. Why escape from Paris, why retreat into solitude to plant cabbages, to prune trees, and to dream of GOD? After all, for some people, at fifty years of age, that might be easy. But what about society? If all the honest people leave it, it will be nothing else than a rabble. It would have been better for these men to have remained in Paris, and to have done good around them; as a first result they would not have found time to become 'theologians,' nor yet, in consequence, heretics. And then they would have secured their own salvation. And then . . . we should not have come here to-day, and I should have prepared my lecture which is not ready. . . ."

"You remind me," I said to him, "of the interview between S. Vincent de Paul and Saint-Cyran. S. Vincent reproached him for living in solitude and being useless to mankind. Saint-Cyran replied that it did not seem to him that to serve GOD in secret, and



to adore His Truth and His Goodness in Silence, was to lead a useless life. S. Vincent retorted: Meanwhile the poor people of the country are dying of hunger and going to perdition!"

"Ah! you appear to be hitting at me with your comparisons! According to S. Vincent, I have only a traveller's turn of mind. If I had lived in his days, I should have said to him: you have missionaries in Poland. . . . Well! I am going to see a little of what is going on in Russia."

A week later, Abbé Morel set out for Russia. He was completely prepossessed by the action on behalf of the Church.

Henceforth, his life's centre was to be there, and everything was to be subordinated to that point of view. The course at *l'Institut Catholique* would not change its nature; it would always be a question of the Fathers and Positive Theology. But Abbé Morel would see in this study a means of preparing minds for union, by presenting before them the doctrines of a Church which had not yet known our schisms, and which all the separated Churches acknowledge as their common mother.

The most interesting transformation which this new preoccupation effected within him, was concerned with his theological and philosophical ideas. We saw how, at the *École des Carmes*, he had little by little abandoned the traditional positions; and I have not permitted the reader to be ignorant of the fact, that in his calm boldness he did not shrink from any demolition. We saw him afterwards absorbed in the reconstruction of a new Theology, and seeking throughout the Universities of Europe for the solution of the

formidable problems raised by the new criticism. He implored Almighty GOD to enlighten him ; and he was not indisposed to adopt the most radical attitude, if it should be necessary, in order to defend the faith of the twentieth century, and to cause *moderns* to give their attention. Up to the year 1903, that research was evidently his greatest concern.

But, in proportion as he detached himself from speculation in order to proceed to action, theological problems lost their importance in his eyes. He was not far from regarding criticism as a kind of Systematic Ideology. He was ready to welcome with indifference all the formulæ, provided that they safe-guarded the integrity of Dogma and did not wound simple souls. This work of theological construction, which each age undertakes after having demolished that of its predecessors, appeared to him to be the elegant occupation of intellectualists who deceive themselves. They imagine that they are in grasp of the *real* and they flounder in the *abstract*. Religious truth dwells beyond their reach, because it is only attainable under concrete conditions, in a life to which they have no access. Their systems serve only to confuse ideas and enfeeble action : while the scholastics, who exist at all periods, are wrangling over dogmatic formulæ, let us believe in substantial Dogma, let us love those souls who live in it and labour for that harmony of believing souls which is called the Church.

That, if I am not mistaken, is the last attitude of Abbé Morel, rather different as we observe, from that which, under the pressure of criticism, he had six years before assumed. After having thus described it in the main, I want to explain it in detail by quot-

ing a few pages of the correspondence of his last years.

He had followed with interest and with a kind of anxiety the intellectual evolution of l'Abbé Loisy, and he was not far from showing his ideas upon almost all points. But at the moment when the famous book appeared, entitled *L'Evangile et L'Eglise*,<sup>1</sup> Abbé Morel had found his way, and frankly passed judgment upon it. He wrote to a friend: "The general impression, I believe, is that the third chapter (concerning the Church) is splendid—authoritative. But, as to the remainder, each makes his reservations, and one feels that the work is dangerous for those to approach who are not prepared." Writing to his kinsman, M. Noël, he says to him upon the same subject: "There is much talk about the book by l'Abbé Loisy. Have you read it? I do not think we can say that he denies the Divinity of our Lord; he speaks of that Divinity in his preface, and declares that upon that point his book is incomplete. Afterwards, he attributes a limited human knowledge to our Lord. The Saviour, as Man, knew only what was necessary to His mission. L'Abbé Loisy opened this question long ago. There is little reassuring in that. L'Abbé Gayraud's articles have created a sale for the book, as a first result. The controversy ought not to descend to the newspapers."

Before quoting Abbé Morel's last letter, which upon all these subjects is perfectly clear, I ought to make known in fragments a few letters which he received in the course of the year 1904, which he carefully preserved and to which he intended to reply all together. They tell him, "We have conversed together (my

<sup>1</sup> "The Gospel and the Church."

friend and I) about religious Philosophy, and chiefly about the theories of l'Abbé Loisy and Father Tyrrell. Though he does not enter fully into this movement of ideas, I believe he has ended in seeing that there is something in it, and that there is need for reckoning with these new philosophical tendencies. . . . I have been rather surprised myself, that, by the publication of *Autour d'un petit livre*,<sup>1</sup> l'Abbé Loisy should himself reopen controversies which appeared to be disagreeable to him. I have even expressed to him my astonishment in a cautious manner. He replied that he was anxious to publish his *Quatrième Evangile*,<sup>2</sup> and that he could not have done so, if he had not at the same time explained himself afresh with regard to the Authority of the Church and the Divinity of Jesus Christ. What will be the issue of it all? it is difficult to foresee. It appears to me that unbiassed minds, after reading certain pages of *Autour d'un petit livre*, will be unable to question l'Abbé Loisy's faith and the sincerity of his subjective Orthodoxy, which several, heretofore, have not feared to subject to grave suspicion. . . .

"I took a day's journey to pay a visit to l'Abbé Loisy at his hermitage at Garney. In some respects he has made a satisfactory impression upon me: I found him more calm, less bitter in his estimation of men and things, and quite determined to do nothing for his part which could burden Catholic consciences. But on the other hand, I was distressed at the point of view of his ideas, and to see him push his theories and his methods more and more to extremes. From the philosophical as much as from the critical point

<sup>1</sup> "About a little book."

<sup>2</sup> "Fourth Gospel."



of view, he has come to an absolutely exaggerated radicalism. It is most annoying, even from the point of view of the scientific value of his future publications. . . .

“L'Abbé Loisy was satisfied (with reference to the article by Mgr. Batiffol in the *Bulletin*); he does not consider that the criticisms that have been addressed to him, are well founded, nor yet that the dangers in his conception that they have pointed out are real, but he thinks they have put their finger upon the essential divergence which separates the philosophy of moral dogmatism from that of moral mysticism.

“There is one point which has not been sufficiently brought out, and that is that if the Faith furnishes history with no particular data, if it can add nothing from the point of view of material fact to that which the documents teach us, it is at least the light of history, in such a sense as that the aggregate of phenomena, religious or otherwise, has no complete meaning except for the Faith which alone is able to discover their inward and superior principle of unity. . . . As to M. Blondel, what he refuses to technical history is the right to pronounce *alone* upon the reality of facts essentially bound up with the Faith. There is in consequence less difference between him and l'Abbé Loisy than has been imagined. It is chiefly in the application of particular facts, such as the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, or the human knowledge of Christ, that their methods can tend to divergent results. . . . Father Tyrrell seeks a *via media* between Blondel and Loisy. This is very interesting and of a very subtle Psychology. He admits a connexion between dogmatic and critical history analogous to that which exists between drama-



tized history, such as is portrayed in the historical dramas of Shakespeare for instance, and real history. The truth is a harmonious whole, which does not permit us to draw fixed conclusions from it as to details, but which reveals the true meaning of things better than could be done by a minutely exact description of facts. And he explains how the religious understanding, when it conveys affirmations of a historical order, which rest upon *a priori* reasons, upon reasons of fitness and not upon witnesses, is able to rediscover the past, as a whole at least with certainty, in the same way as, in the case of the prophecies, it can foreshadow the future, without, however, being able to describe all the features exactly . . . . I imagine, that with regard to all that, our estimates would coincide with each other. . . . As to the rest, we are in agreement with regard to the way of comprehending the faith, its object and manner of development: that is the central point."

To all these letters, Abbé Morel replied in a few pages which are clear, animated, and forcible, and form, as it were, his intellectual testament, and determine the position which he purposed to take up in the theological crisis of the time. I will quote them entirely, although they sometimes repeat things which have been mentioned elsewhere.

"My vacations of 1904 like that of 1903, were spent in Russia. . . . The subject of my lectures for this year?—*S. Athanasius and Arianism*. I have chosen this question because I want to know the discussions of the fourth century, and further, because there is no question more important, and I wish to see, with regard to the most central of our dogmas,

what is the history of Dogma. I have employed November and December in resuming the history of the Dogma of the Divinity of Christ in the second and third centuries, and I am only just beginning the study of Arianism. I cannot yet obtain an authoritative opinion as to the part that S. Athanasius played. My own actual impression is, that the speculations of the theologians of the second and third centuries—not of S. Irenaeus who is before all things a bishop—as to the part taken by the Logos in the creation of the world—speculations which were due in a great measure to the influence of Greek Philosophy,—little by little brought on a restlessness, a theological malady of which Arianism was the crisis, and a salutary one. In place of the Logos the Instrument of Creation, S. Athanasius has restored the “Saviour—Logos,” the “Saviour—GOD”. The malady emanated from Philosophy; they cut it short by discarding Metaphysics and discoursing religion. Arianism was a rationalistic intellectualism; S. Athanasius, like S. Irenaeus, cared little for a metaphysical explanation of the world. What he wanted was a GOD Who should draw men out of their misery and their sin, and give them a life Divine.

“Another impression of a more general order, which my studies of this year confirm, is that people have scared us too much by talking at random of dogmatic changes and even of dogmatic progress. If Protestants find that all has changed, there is no occasion to be much astonished at it; they approach the study of the Fathers and of theologians with a state of mind which allows them little chance of understanding them. This is not the case with Anglicans who have produced excellent works. As to Catholics, they indeed deceive

themselves a little by talking of progress, and by imagining that they know more to-day than their Fathers in the Faith knew. I question whether a more perfect philosophical expression of Dogma would be a real superiority. The more precise the philosophical expression appears, the more narrow is the portion of truth which it allows us to see ; the more it appears precise the more also it depends upon the special circumstances under which it is formulated, and in consequence the less durable it is. . . .

“ The further I advance the more I have to do. Russia and the *Revue catholique des Églises* occupy the best part of my days, nearly all that my lectures leave to me. I have an enormous pile of books which await report. As one goes on, very many dreams take their departure. One hoped to work very quietly and very regularly, from such an hour to such an hour. One thought of presenting theses and of composing books. Reality is very differently complicated. Time passes without one's knowing whither it goes. There are some good books, but there are so many bad ones that one hesitates to compose any more. One feels that Theology has need of renovation, that there is work to be done in that direction, the need of which thrusts itself upon us ; but for one theologian who has rendered service to the Church, how many others have only served to conceal the truth behind their words and their formulæ ! . . . It so happens that I also belong to a circle of studies—not of social studies like *Le Sillon*, but a circle of religious studies. Up to the present we have only had two conferences and I do not know whether this circle will live on. But it is singularly comforting to meet young Catholic

people, selected from amongst those who have received the highest intellectual education that one can receive in France, and who have at the same time Apostolic souls. In the midst of our political divisions, there is in that a reassuring promise for the future. And it is important to maintain contact with generations younger than our own. Very soon we shall be old men. If we do not take care, we shall let the world go faster than we. We must learn from the young in what direction and at what pace it goes.

“Have I told you that I have promised le Père Bainvel a *S. Irenaeus*? Of course not a single word of it is done, and I am not sure as to the point at which to begin. It is possible, however, that I shall take this subject for my next year’s course. *S. Irenaeus* pleases me, because he was less of a theologian than the other ante-Nicene writers. There is more chance, in his writings, of finding religion wholly complete. I have taken a dislike to theologians. Do you not think that l’Abbé Loisy’s mistake is in being too much of a theologian? After having demolished an intellectualism, in order to demonstrate that religion is a life, and not a doctrine, does he not proceed to allow himself to be carried away by a doctrine and a philosophy, giving a disproportionate importance to them, and ending in a new intellectualism? There is nothing astonishing in this. It is dangerous to be always face to face with one’s own thoughts, without windows that look out upon the concrete reality of religious fellowship, upon the Divine action exercised by religion within the souls of men. Theologians, indeed!”

In these last words Abbé Morel revealed the secret of the philosophical serenity and exquisite good sense



with which he had checked himself in time, upon the slippery road along which criticism had brought him. His windows were opened out upon life, or rather, he lived in full reality, and, working for GOD and for the Church on behalf of the souls of men, he found and got into direct contact with the realities which theologians seek in vain to enclose within their formulæ of the study.

This religious action and evolution were ruled by a priestly conscience, which from day to day became more alive. A change was being effected also in his inward life, which, becoming strengthened, brought him up to the level of all his new tasks. In days gone by, as seminarist or student at the *Carmes*, he was in the habit of placing his ideal of perfection in regularity. In his day's work devotional exercises had their own hour and the rest of the time belonged to profane study. As he grew older, his love for GOD having developed, he had attained a higher conception of religion; he comprehended that there are not two parts in life, one which we give to GOD, and the other to our own occupations, to Natural Science, or to Theology, or even to recreation and travels, but that the whole of it belongs to GOD. He made a habit therefore of living for GOD; the thought of GOD and the love of GOD animated him, so to speak, to such an extent that each word and action became a prayer. As he cared little to speak about himself, one could live by his side and remain ignorant of the intensity of this inward life. But sometimes it was betrayed by one of those expressions, pregnant with meaning, which he uttered involuntarily as it were. "Spiritual reading," said he one day to M. Portal, "why, I



practise it all day long!" and it was true; all his lectures, his labours, his walks, and his journeys were devotional exercises.

This love of GOD, this religious feeling, fed themselves from the true sources, Holy Scripture and the Fathers. To these he added the Liturgy, of which he had acquired a minute knowledge, and of which he used to speak with a relish all his own. The ceremonies of the Church, the prayers of the Mass and of the Breviary, whose every detail he noted, to him were incentives to devotion. He fathomed their deep meaning, which afterwards passed into his own meditations. He readily spoke of them, being exasperated with those rhetoricians who had introduced metaphors or pretentious cadences into certain of the collects, and admiring with all his heart the simplicity of the primitive prayers.

As formerly he lived modestly; but his personality all unconsciously asserted itself. He knew what he wanted and at what he was aiming. And upon occasion he did not fear to declare it. He felt that he had a right to have an opinion upon matters, and he made use of it. Those who had known him as shy and self-effaced, saw him with joy advancing in the ranks, taking his own place and becoming a leader; one of those leaders full of gentleness and power who are so winning and whom we love to follow. I do not say that he would have become a man of action of the first rank. I believe that the boldness of great initiatives would have always been wanting in him. But his slow action would have been sure; and then, by keeping himself by the side of men of the advance guard, he would have helped them to avoid many

mistakes ; he would have illuminated, by the light of the past which he knew so well, the road which they must choose for the future ; and in a modest way, by his advice, his teaching, and his pen, he would have exercised an influence upon minds and hearts. He would have been a solid master at a time when stability is perhaps that which is most lacking to a clergy, rich in generosity and intelligence. He lived to the age of thirty-three ; and he passed away ; such was the Will of GOD.

## CHAPTER X.

### HIS DEATH.

WE learned the astounding news in Paris, on Sunday, 13th August 1905. Abbé Morel had died at Tula, as the result of an accident. For many hours and for many days, we refused, as it were, to believe this misfortune. But the details arrived very soon and we were indeed obliged to resign ourselves to the irreparable.

M. Lhoir, with whom Morel had put up in Moscow, and who had become his close friend, wrote the following account of his last hours: "After a journey to the North of Russia, a journey from which he returned rather fatigued, intellectually as well as morally, M. l'Abbé remained with me for nearly two weeks, and on the Tuesday which preceded his death, he set out with M. Khomiakoff, a mutual friend, whose property is six hours' run from Moscow, not far from the town of Tula. M. Khomiakoff is the brother of the Countess Grabbe, with whom our lamented friend dwelt during his stay in S. Petersburg.

"One of the chief reasons for which the Abbé desired to go into the country, was that he might have the possibility of taking some cold baths, from which he hoped to derive much benefit. Accordingly, upon his arrival at M. Khomiakoff's house, he asked if he

might bathe in a large pond in the park. M. Khomiakoff, seeing our friend's tired condition, consented, but with reluctance, after obtaining the promise that the Abbé would never bathe alone, and would be accompanied by a footman. Further, he showed him a spot which was not deep, and which presented no danger.

"On the Wednesday and Thursday, the Abbé bathed twice daily: he bathed also on Friday morning, accompanied each time by a footman. On Friday evening, 11th August, at about six o'clock, he went again to bathe, but this time, to his own misfortune and our sorrow, alone, and without informing anyone. What took place, I learned from the lips of some peasants who were at work not far from the pond, and who were the sole witnesses of the tragedy. Our Abbé remained in the water a very long time, swimming and diving, and the peasants even made the remark that the French priest swam well and was very fond of the water.

"All at once he dived under and reappeared no more. The peasants, anticipating a calamity, hastened, some to the pond, and others to advise M. Khomiakoff, who rushed to the place of the accident and organized a search. The search lasted rather a long time, for it was only at the end of half an hour, perhaps three-quarters of an hour, that they recovered the body. All possible means for restoring life were employed, but in vain. Death had done its work. M. Khomiakoff telegraphed to me at once, and it was upon receipt of his telegram that I sent you my first dispatch, before setting out for the spot where I arrived on Saturday morning. I found a Catholic priest

for whom M. Khomiakoff had sent from the neighbouring town. I went to see what remained of my best friend, of my brother. He had preserved a calm and peaceful countenance and one might have imagined him to be asleep.

“None of the signs, indicative of asphyxia through immersion, revealed themselves upon his face. Only the lower lip, which drooped a little, and a few other indications, pointed according to the doctor’s statement, to the fact that our very dear deceased had been seized with an attack of nervous paralysis and congestion, involving an almost instantaneous death. In the evening of that same Saturday, I set out again for Moscow, bringing the body of my friend with me.”

M. Lhoir showed splendid devotion upon this occasion ; he procured fitting obsequies for his friend, and placed his body in the French Church, in a provisionary vault, while he awaited the wishes of the family. At the same time he poured forth his sorrow in a most noble letter, which shows to what extent Abbé Morel could influence people.

“The Abbé’s death has been a very sad blow to me. You have lost a very dear relative ; I have lost the best of friends, almost a brother. The most complete mutual trust and the most perfect community of ideas and aspirations united us. And why were these bonds formed ? because the Abbé understood my mind ; because he had taught me and shown me the why and the wherefore of life ; because, instead of the indifferent person that I once was, he made me a zealot ; because, in opening out before my mind new horizons, he has afforded me consolation. Yes, his



death leaves a blank in life, which GOD alone can fill. . . .

“GOD willed this death, and He willed it in order not to keep him whom we mourn waiting any longer for the reward of a life that was short but so well occupied, whose single aim was to lead back to the truth those who were far removed from it.

“This is the thought in which I find consolations, and also in the hope that from Heaven where he now is (his life was that of the just and he had made his confession five days before his decease) my friend will continue his affection for me, and obtain for me the graces which I cannot merit for myself.

“By his modesty, which was equalled only by his wide knowledge and his great merit ; by his respect for the opinions of others, and by his affability, the deceased acquired numerous sympathies wherever he went, as well within the best lay society as among the higher clergy. Both have been afflicted by his death, and numbers of them have addressed to me their most sincere condolences.”

Among these marks of homage paid to Abbé Morel by the Russians, we must not fail to quote that of M. Khomiakoff, who wrote : “ May GOD possess in peace the soul of l'Abbé Gustave Morel ; his remembrance will remain for ever deeply engraven in my memory, and upon my heart ”.

We could see indeed the regret which his death had excited, when his body departed for France. It was M. l'Abbé Morel, the *Curé* of Nomexy, in the diocese of Saint-Dié, the kinsman and godfather of the deceased, who took upon himself the sorrowful mission of going to fetch his remains. He was welcomed in Moscow

as a friend. He wrote: "The regrets caused by Gustave's death have been shared by the *Orthodox* priests. Archimandrites and Archbishops bowed before his coffin. One and all demanded to know the day and hour of my departure, that they might accompany the body to the station."

The funeral rites were again proceeded with. "On the day of Gustave's obsequies," wrote the *Curé* of Nomexy, "the whole of the French Settlement was much affected by the deep sorrow which had fallen upon us and took a very great share in it. The crowd was considerable." Numerous friends wished to accompany his coffin to the station, and when the train moved away, all burst into tears.

In France, the grief was more poignant still. Broken-hearted letters from all parts arrived at the house of the *Curé* of Nomexy and that of the mother of the deceased. And everywhere there was the same amazement, to see how GOD had taken so good a workman at the very moment when he was commencing his day's work. I can only quote a few fragments of these letters.

L'Abbé Bandrillart wrote to M. G. Morel: "It is a cruel loss to *l'Institut Catholique*. Your nephew was one of those superior spirits who combine perfect sincerity in scientific inquiry with the constancy of faith.

"He was not one of those whom knowledge intoxicates and whose head it turned. The scholar did not kill the priest within him. Personally I esteemed l'Abbé Gustave Morel and loved him very much; I knew that I could rely upon his friendship; in all his relations he was safety itself."

Prof. Ruch of the *Grand Séminaire* at Nancy, a

friend of the deceased, expressed himself in terms of emotion: "Your good kinsman, was to me as a member of my family, a brother soul. . . . And what a loss to religion and to the Church! We were proud of him, we expected so much from his ability and his talents. Truly GOD baffles our affections and our designs. Happily we Christians and priests hope that he is in a better world, that he lives at our side, that he will help us to finish our day's work, and that we shall soon have the sweet delight of seeing him again, as we used to meet every year after the vacation."

Deep then was the mourning at Saint-Dié and in the hearts of all who had loved Abbé Morel. But the grief was concentrated, as it were, in the Seminary of Saint-Vincent de Paul, where his death left so sad a blank. For some days the sorrow there was heart-rending. And it was felt so thoroughly that Abbé Morel's place was there, that for many days, and one might say from the whole world, l'Abbé Portal continued to receive letters of condolence, which form a magnificent funeral panegyric. I shall quote a few fragments.

From His Eminence Cardinal Richard: "I thank you for having advised me without delay of the sad loss we have just sustained in the person of l'Abbé Morel. He was young and had given us occasion to expect a long and serious labour in the service of the Church. I am consoled by what you tell me of his devotion and his regularity, and we may hope that our Lord received him with His mercy, when He called him to Him in so unforeseen a manner."

From Mgr. Péchenard: "I am dumbfounded at the news that you announce. My poor dear colleague! . . . It is a great loss that our Institute has sustained.

It is a blank which we shall have great difficulty in filling up."

From M. G. Bonet-Maury : " I learn from the *Univers* of the premature decease of l'Abbé Morel and the news fills me with grief. Indeed, the few conversations which I have had with him were sufficient to enable me to measure the extent of his knowledge, as well as his largeness of heart. . . . Men of his worth are rare, and I associate myself entirely with the mourning into which his decease plunges you."

From Lord Halifax : "What sad news! I can hardly believe it! What a calamity! What heart-rending! We loved l'Abbé Morel so much! he was a friend to us all. And what a loss to you! What a portion of your own self taken away, what a shattering of hope! I cannot endure the thought of your grief. I think only of you and I pray GOD for you and for him with all my heart."

From Mr. Lacey : "What a disaster you have just announced to me! I am overwhelmed by it. He whom we found so gentle and at the same time so keen of intellect! he who was of such value. It is terrible. I cannot speak of it. One can but pray."

From M. Tavernier : "So much knowledge accumulated and prepared for the most necessary work, and all this destroyed at the very moment of turning it to the most profitable account! It is an example of what frequently happens in the providential conduct of affairs, but how difficult it is for us to resign ourselves to it!"

From M. Victor Giraud : "I received with the *Univers* the sorrowful news. I can guess and understand your great grief. He is one of your own, and

one of the best, who has disappeared at the very moment that we have most need of him. GOD has His own purposes and we must bow before Him and pray without comprehending them."

From l'Abbé Vénard: "What grief to see him disappear at the very moment when, having accomplished his long preparation, he was able to devote all his powers and to render such important services to the Church. Better than others, by reason of our long conversations upon the most delicate questions which are being raised to-day, I could appreciate all that resourcefulness of mind which he possessed, and what a wise orientation he knew how to give to all his labours."

From M. Maurice Masson: "I knew him without knowing him, for I am aware that it was only to a small number of intimate friends that he revealed his soul which was of rare beauty. But I know also that you loved him as a son and that you had set some of your best hopes upon him. It is a very rough blow to you."

From M. René Pinon: "It is the loss of a man who was as simple as he was learned and intelligent, a truly great loss. I am quite broken-hearted and I think with affection of your great grief."

From l'Abbé Sevestre: "It seemed to me that l'Abbé Morel was being prepared at *l'Institut Catholique* to serve as an intermediary between the older clergy, who are traditional to excess, and the younger clergy, who, at times, are too advanced. He knew both so well and he carried so much moderation into his judgments!"

From l'Abbé Otter: "As to myself, I beheld in him



the ideal type of the modern priest, full of radiancy from his inner life, open to every serious consideration, but free alike from arrogance and from inflexibility. In him Faith and Science went hand in hand and quickened each other marvellously. Such was indeed the man of whom you stand in need."

From l'Abbé Laberthonnière: "l'Abbé Morel was one of those upon whom one can rely from every point of view. I had great confidence in him. He was already of real value, and he would have become so in the highest degree."

From l'Abbé Lejay: "M. Morel has disappeared at the very moment that he was about to produce and bear the fruit of his long preparation. I am grieved at it, especially for you who have made him the pivot of so many schemes."

From a friend of Father Puller: "I know well how great is your own particular loss, and that you also deplore the loss which the Church in France suffers by his death; we of the Anglican Church have also lost a friend who, before all things, wished to understand us and to draw near to us in love, as far as possible, without compromising his own principles."

What a magnificent concurrence of praises! and I could yet quote the letters from M. Chevalier, M. Laval-lée, M. Méout, and from many others! Every one was sensible of the place that he occupied in the Church of France, and the blank that his death occasioned.

But the most profound sorrow was experienced by his little native land. He had always loved the Vosges with a filial affection, and the Vosges reciprocated it. At Ban-de-Laveline, on the day of his funeral, 5th of October, 1905, we could see the place he held in the

parish where he was born, and where, ten years before, he had said his first Mass. The *Revue catholique des Églises*, in its number for October, 1905, gave an account of his obsequies, and I need not reproduce it here.

The Canon of Bazelaire, a former *Curé* of the deceased, from the bottom of his heart, spoke of him as a friend and priest. Mgr. Foucault, the Bishop of Saint-Dié, who was anxious to preside over the sad ceremony, addressed paternal condolences to his family and to the clergy. The funeral oration was delivered by Mgr. Péchenard, the rector of *l'Institut Catholique* of Paris, who put his whole heart and soul into his discourse. I must quote at least the conclusion; and indeed I could not find a better ending for this book, in which I have endeavoured to the best of my power to revive the likeness of our dear friend.

“Firmly attached to the chain of honoured traditions, and a thoroughly resolute partisan of all legitimate progress, he kept his balance between extremes, firmly seated upon the rock of principle, and regarding with an equally tranquil eye, the past and the future, with no other love than that for the Truth and for the Good, the triumph of which he constantly sought.

“He realized to the letter in his own person those noble words which His Holiness, Pope Pius X, recently addressed to our University, and which are at the same time a commendation and a programme for her: ‘*Let your masters first of all place in a position of safety the sacred principles of ancient wisdom, this is their first duty; after that, taking into account the progress of learning, let them neglect nothing of all that the sagacity of our own contemporaries has discovered of that which is true.*’

“Moreover, with what heartiness and perseverance our young professor of Patrology used to search through the literature of the first centuries of the Church, and assimilate the teaching of the Fathers! With what carefulness he kept himself informed of all modern discoveries! with what amenity he welcomed those who, without sharing his particular convictions, appeared to him to be sincere and men of good faith! Finally, with what generous zeal he sought for points of contact between ideas and points of reconciliation between men! . . .

“Ah! good and faithful servant, if the Master has withdrawn you from this world at the third hour of the day, after your first attempts, it is because He has acknowledged the nobleness of your good-will, and that good-will has satisfied Him. You have prematurely quitted this painful workshop of earth, but to enter, we have the sweet and firm confidence, into the repose and the joy of our Lord. May your efforts never be barren! since you fell fighting, generous pioneer of the union of the Churches, from the height of Heaven you will not abandon a work so well begun. By your prayers, you will obtain from our Lord Jesus Christ, that He will raise up within His Church new workmen, capable of treading in your footsteps, and of leading on to the desired end that work of reconciliation and of union, for which He so ardently prayed His Divine Father: *Ut sint unum!*”

To words so noble and significant, I shall add but one more. In order to realize the work of union our dear Abbé Morel has offered more than his prayers, he has given his life. He offered its sacrifice in this letter to l'Abbé Vénard, a fragment of which we may

read upon the "In Memoriam Card" presented to his friends, and which we must quote here, so that this biography of a good priest may have its full significance.

"You are just about to be definitely employed in the interests of GOD here below, and everyday at the Holy Mass, GOD will descend into you and unite Himself to you, in order that, united to Him, you may continue on your part the mission of Christ, both GOD and Man. For a long while you have meditated upon the dignity and the duties of the Priesthood, and it is indeed vain for me to attempt to put myself in unison with your thoughts and your own actual feelings. You would not, however, grudge me the remembrance that it is scarcely five years ago since I experienced the happiness that you are now enjoying. More than one of my dreams of that time have vanished, and my impressions have not maintained their freshness, but while thinking of the generosity and fervency which you are about to bring to Ordination, the desire takes hold of me to make better use of the years that remain to me, to pass them nearer to GOD, and also to spend them more courageously for the good of mankind. To-day my future seems more clear; the work to be accomplished appears to take definite shape, its evident necessity will be an incentive to me perhaps. It was at the moment of my Ordination that, in accordance with the wish of my bishop, I left Mathematics on one side for Theology. I have never had a moment's regret, for I know that I have obeyed the indication of Providence. To-day I am happy, happy to have before me a task more difficult, but also more useful and more priestly. I am still young enough, and GOD

grant I may be so always, to desire a heavy burden, one of those under which one staggers and dies. Do you not think those people worthy of envy who, according to an expression of l'Abbé Piat's, fall into the trench in order that those who come on may pass over them? Such was the lot of the Saviour and of the saints; we are not forbidden to hope for this. However, let us pray each for the other, that neither the courage nor the generosity which will render us worthy of it may be lacking."

Abbé Morel's wish was realized to the letter; into that trench which separates the Christian Churches one from another he has willingly fallen, a victim to the work of which he dreamed, so that others, animated with his spirit and sustained by GOD, may be able to pass over and effect the union for which he died.

FINIS.









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